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THE WOMAN VOTER AND THE NEWSLETTER

WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC NUMBER

Vol. IV. NEW YORK MARCH 1913 No. 3

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NEW YORK

The Woman Voter and The Newsletter

Organ of The Woman Suffrage Party and The New York State Woman Suffrage Association

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MARCH, 1913

WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC NUMBER

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II. All contestants must send in their names, stating that they wish to compete, and all subscriptions must give the name of the competitor as well as the new subscriber. This will avoid confusion.

III. Send in your remittance with each subscription, as we cannot credit your account with a subscription unless you do so.

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V. All letters containing subscriptions to be considered in this contest must be postmarked not later than April 30th, 1913, and prizes will be awarded as soon after as possible.

VI. List of Grand Prize winners will be announced in the June issue.

VII. Send in subscriptions at least once a week, and you will be credited with same immediately. This will facilitate the office routine.

VIII. Always give the street address or post office box on all subscriptions.

IX. Write plainly.

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THE WOMAN VOTER **30 East 34th St., New York City**

THE WOMAN VOTER
AND
THE NEWSLETTER

MARCH, 1913

PROGRESS

IN THE LEGISLATURE.

THE final passage of our bill in the Senate on January 23d by a vote of 40 to 2 and on January 27th in the Assembly by a vote of 128 to 5 has concluded our legislative work for the concurrent resolution which cannot be passed again until 1915. It was a wonderful victory to carry our bill by so large a majority and so early in the session, less than a month after the Legislature convened. Our chairman, Mrs. Gavit, deserves great credit for her constant and efficient work. It was not without its anxieties, even this year.

After the February issue went to press the Senate Judiciary Committee which had agreed upon the bill of earlier years, eliminating the clause in regard to alien women, began to doubt the wisdom of its action. They therefore amended the bill by inserting after the phrase "that may be submitted to the vote of the people" *provided that a citizen by marriage shall have been an inhabitant of the United States for 5 years.* The bill as finally passed was as follows:

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY.

Proposing an amendment to section one of article two of the constitution, in relation to qualification of voters.

Section 1. RESOLVED (if the Assembly concur), That section one of article two of the constitution be amended to read as follows: Section 1. Every (male) citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a citizen for ninety days, and an inhabitant of this state one year next preceding an election, and for the last four months a resident of the county and for the last 30 days a resident of the election district in which he or she may offer his or her vote, shall be entitled to vote at such election in the election district of which he *or she* shall at the time be a resident, and not elsewhere, for all officers that now are or hereafter may be elective by the people, and upon all questions which may be submitted to the vote of the people, *provided that a citizen by marriage shall have been an inhabitant of the United States for five years;* and provided that in time of war no elector in the actual military service of the state, or of the United States, in the army or navy thereof, shall be deprived of his *or her* vote by reason of his *or her* absence from such election district; and the Legislature shall have power to provide the manner in which and the time and place at which such absent electors may vote, and for the return and canvass of their votes in the election districts in which they respectively reside.

2. RESOLVED (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the Legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one, article fourteen, of the constitution, be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

With this amendment the bill finally passed the Senate on January 23d by a vote of 40 to 2; the two Senators who voted in the negative being Cullen and Frawley of New York City, both Democrats. Senator Sage of Albany said that there were three classes of women working for the suffrage—those earnest women who believed that they could bring about social betterment more quickly with the vote; another made up of notoriety seekers who went on "hikes," and the third the Militants, whom he thought deserved nothing of their country. He voted for the bill because he was pledged to submission.

Before the Senators had passed the amended bill, a proposition to add a naturalization clause made by two Republican leaders in the Assembly was twice voted down and the bill without this amendment was carried in the Assembly by a vote of 128 to 7 on the 20th of January.

We had hoped to get the amendment through the Assembly on the day it passed the Senate. But when we rushed across to the Assembly Chamber we found that that body had adjourned. Mr. Smith, the Speaker, and Mr. Levy both assured us, however, that there would be no mistake about getting the amended bill through the next Monday night when the Legislature reconvened. In the face of some opposition on the part of men who wanted the bill passed without the naturalization clause, it finally went through on the 27th by 128 to 5. Those voting against it on the final passage were Greenberg, of New York, Patrie of Greene, Rozan of Erie, Jones of Jefferson, and Yoemans of Wayne.

All suffragists living in the districts where these men live should do systematic Assembly District work beginning now and see that they are not returned to Albany next year. Let us waste no time, but show that we can defeat men who are not true to their party pledges and who are not willing to let our amendment go to the voters.

When the bill's first vote was taken in the Assembly, Dr. Bush of Horseheads made a very insulting speech, some of which was too indecent to quote. Among other things, he said that the only reason the western states had adopted woman suffrage was because the male population was so greatly in excess of the female that the men wanted wives, but that if they should get some of the suffragists they would be very sorry. He charged that suffragists were all spinsters. Hon. J. A. Smith of St. Lawrence, answered Dr. Bush by saying that without spinsters who did the school teaching the boys would not be properly educated and that he objected to such an attack upon single women. Assemblyman Rozan of Buffalo, who made an insulting speech against suffrage when he was formerly in the Assembly, again distinguished himself by saying that the women in his district did not want any such nonsense as woman suffrage, that there were more babies in his district than in any other in Buffalo and that the women were all occupied in taking care of their children. Martin McCue of New York also spoke against the amendment. When the second vote was taken in the Assembly on the 27th there was little discussion, but Assemblyman Levy declared that when women voted they must give up their right of dower and their other privileges under the law. It would take a magnifying glass to find what these privileges are; but whatever they are suffragists are perfectly willing to exchange them for the vote. We do not find that men lose any legal protection through the possession of the ballot.

Many members of our cooperating committee were present when the amendment was passed in the Senate and Assembly, having made a number of trips to Albany on behalf of the bill. Now we are all free to push the great campaign. "Onward to victory" is our cry.

—Harriet May Mills.

PARTY WORK IN FEBRUARY.

OWING to the mild weather through the months of December and January, a remarkable number of street meetings were held, but in February the great work in each Borough has been the extension of the character and scope of the indoor gatherings. Throughout the different districts there have been an unprecedented number of drawing room and library meetings, one of the first having been held in the 11th Assembly District in Mr. D'Laney's big old-fashioned parlor. The 25th Assembly District was recently content with nothing less than a big Cooper Union meeting, one of the largest and most enthusiastic that the old hall has ever seen. The 1st Assembly District of Brooklyn held a meeting of its own for the Party in the Academy of Music. We are wondering if we will next hear of a single district taking Carnegie Hall or the Metropolitan Opera House. Such mounting ambition should know no bounds.

The month has been full of variety in the Woman Suffrage Party: religious meetings Sunday afternoons, shops open for district recruiting stations, sewing circles, dancing classes, afternoon teas, handicraft guilds, card parties—every sort of activity from propaganda work to money raising has been entered into by our zealous members. Study circles and speaking clubs are another feature which cannot be too strongly recommended, although we already have a large Speaker's Bureau at Headquarters.

A great many of the Party members and workers have been doing all that they possibly could, picketing, watching in the halls, sending people to sing or play or talk on Saturday afternoons in the down-town halls where the courage of the striking girls is being kept up so nobly. All of our regular organizers have done some of this work, stepping aside now and then from the heavy routine of the Party to lend a hand to their brave sisters.

The three organizers who have done so much for us in the last month, Miss Martha Klatschken, Mrs. Kate Tousey Morris, and Mrs. Mabel Hazlett Keep, have certainly made a number of rather quiet districts sit up straight and take notice. They have been helping busy leaders in some of the difficult districts; canvassing, interviewing politicians, getting into clubs, churches, and working up larger and more important district meetings than some of the timid district organizers have ever had.

Within a month, in the Borough of Manhattan alone, the Woman Suffrage Party's leaders and speakers have been in about twenty political clubs. In some cases the Democratic and Republican headquarters audience has been entirely composed of men, the only women present being the speakers and some of the Woman Suffrage Party captains at the door distributing literature. At one of the Democratic clubs the other night a large number of the men enrolled in the Woman Suffrage Party. The work is so stimulating and so many sided, that even though it is hard, the

rank and file of our members seem to feel the impetus which has come with the passage of the woman suffrage amendment. We are no longer academic suffragists; this is a political question and New York State is a campaign State. Judging by the velocity with which the work is increasing in this one month since the bill has passed, we are justified in saying that in the next two years and a half, before the amendment is passed by the voters in this State in the Fall of 1915, there is going to be such a campaign in New York City and New York State generally, as the world has never seen. The voters are going to be roused and shaken on more subjects than one.

Remember that the Woman Suffrage Party has set out to bring this bill to every voter in Greater New York, and we know that it will at least approximate its ideal. Never forget the line which was printed on the center of the first page of that first little bulletin which was called *The Woman Voter* in the first days of the Woman Suffrage Party—VICTORY IN 1915!

THE CITY CONVENTION.

THE annual City Convention of the Woman Suffrage Party was held on February first at 8 o'clock, in the Metpolitan Temple, Miss Mary Garret Hay, City Chairman, presiding. There were full delegations from each of the five boroughs, and the Borough Chairmen gave interesting reports of the activities in their districts. The important business of the evening was the adoption of a new Party Platform and a discussion of *How to Win in 1915*. The platform as accepted by the Convention is as follows:

PLATFORM OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY.

We, the delegates of the Woman Suffrage Party in convention assembled in the Metropolitan Temple, February 1st, 1913, do join in the following declaration of principles:

1. We declare that so long as women, one-half of the people, are deprived of the power of the vote, the government of the United States is not a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and that such an exclusion is in direct violation of the principles of democracy.

2. Food, clothing and shelter, fundamental needs of the people, are the primary concern of women in the home. We, therefore, urge that adequate representation be given to the interests of the home by the enfranchisement of women.

3. We protest against the political system which denies to seven millions of women engaged in industry a share in making and enforcing the laws which control every matter vital to their health and well-being.

4. We declare that women should have equal place and voice with men in all public conferences and commissions hereafter appointed to deal with matters of vital interest to both men and women.

5. We renew our condemnation of the evil of child labor and pledge our support to all legislation to improve conditions affecting the child.

6. In the face of the revelation of the white slave traffic and the demonstrated connection between poverty and prostitution we declare for a complete program of social legislation including a minimum wage, shorter hours, steady employment, better housing and extensive public recreation.

7. We recommend action on the part of the State to deal with social hygiene conditions, and we endorse the bureau of social hygiene recently created by a private citizen. We also endorse the principle of so-called "Medical Certificate of Health" bills.

8. We repeat our plea for the appointment of women as judges and magistrates in the courts in order to safe-guard the interests of women and children.

9. We ask that women be allowed to apply for the position of interne in the public hospitals under the same conditions as men.

An interesting feature of the Convention was the spirited debates which took place previous to the adoption of the platform and which resulted in several amendments. Since this was the first big "working" convention, it was worthy of note that members of the Party entered freely into the discussion, and expressed themselves with frankness. Thus again was the democratic quality of our organization revealed.

After the program of speakers, Miss Leonora O'Reilly made an appeal for the striking garment-workers, telling briefly how suffragists could aid the girls who have, for the last weeks, struggled so valiantly to better their conditions.

A resolution of congratulation to the victorious suffrage states was passed, and the following resolution was adopted:

The Woman Suffrage Party in convention assembled congratulates the political parties of the State of New York on their response to public opinion as shown by the adoption of Woman Suffrage Referendum planks in their respective platforms.

It also congratulates both branches of the New York Legislature on their prompt action in passing the Referendum Bill, and confidently expects similar action by the succeeding Legislature and victory at the polls in 1915.

THE DINNER.

We are very proud of our beautiful dinner at the Hotel Astor on the night of February 3rd. Proud of the partnership between the Party and the Men's League, and the giving of the dinner together; proud of the splendid room, filled with such an unusually brilliant gathering; proud of the Party toastmistress, Miss Mary Garret Hay, and of the Men's League toastmaster, Mr. George Foster Peabody; proud of our guests and speakers; proud of the dinner itself, which couldn't have been better if cooked by all the seventy thousand housekeepers of the Party; and "proud

of forty things beside," as the poet puts it. It was a gala night, long to be remembered, and will doubtless prove very fruitful in bringing friends to our movement.

The women speakers were Miss Mary Johnston, Mrs. Catt, and Mrs. Philip Snowden. Mrs. Richard Aldrich, the Party treasurer, read a poem entitled "Together." For the men, there were Judge Charles L. Guy, U. S. Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado, and Assistant District Attorney William A. DeFord, who came in the stead of the District Attorney of New York County, Charles S. Whitman. As soon as the waiters ran away with the candles, chairs were drawn forward to the guest table, and the 600 diners waited as expectantly, as if they had never heard any suffrage doctrine before. And all the speeches were good, too, very good, so that everybody stayed until the last word was spoken.

THE HIKE TO WASHINGTON.

On Lincoln's birthday, February 12th, our suffrage pilgrims began their long march to Washington, where they will deliver a message to President Wilson and take part in the great national parade. No propaganda work undertaken by the State Association and the Party has ever achieved such publicity. Practically every newspaper in New York, not to mention the syndicates which supply the entire country with news, is featuring the hike, and the marchers are attended by a corps of reporters, special correspondents and camera men, with the result that long before *The Voter* is issued, our readers have followed the intimate details of each day's progress.

Likening our propagandists to an army, Miss Rosalie Jones who is in charge, has been dubbed "The General," while Miss Ida Craft and Miss Lavinia Dock are called "Lieutenant-Colonel" and "Surgeon-General" respectively. The original party numbers only sixteen but the procession is always much larger, for everywhere they are reenforced by members of local suffrage organizations. A new feature of the hike is the famous yellow wagon, newly decorated with Votes for Women symbols, driven by Miss Elisabeth Freeman, dressed as a gypsy. The wagon serves as a stand for speaking and carries quantities of suffrage literature which is distributed along the route.

On February 14th, as the suffrage army passed through Princeton, the pilgrims made their formal request for an audience in Washington with President-elect Wilson. The missive read as follows:

"My dear Mr. Wilson: A small band of votes-for-women pilgrims from the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Ohio, earnestly request of you an audience for not more than two minutes in Washington as soon after your arrival as possible. They desire to present a message to you.

"Thanking you in advance for your courtesy, I am very sincerely,"Rosalie Gardiner Jones."

At Baltimore the hikers will have a great celebration, being joined by a large delegation of Maryland suffragists who will march with them to the Capitol. The National Parade Committee have made preparations to receive and honor the marchers at the end of their long and arduous journey.

THE WASHINGTON PARADE AND PAGEANT.

THE Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association opened headquarters at 1420 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., on January 2nd, for the purpose of working for an amendment to the United States Constitution to provide for the enfranchisement of women.

The first step which they have taken toward that end is to call on the women suffragists of the land to assemble in Washington on the day before the Inauguration and march in procession from the Peace Monument at the foot of the Capitol, down Pennsylvania Avenue, past the White House, to Continental Hall, where speeches are to be made by the leaders of the movement. They believe that the time has come to show to national legislators the strength and universality of the demand in this country for the enfranchisement of women. Not only is this procession of remarkable and unique political significance because of the fact that it is taking place at the center of the nation's political life, but it is also of great importance to the suffrage work of the various state societies because the spectators will be gathered here from every part of the land.

The outline of the procession, as at present planned, is as follows:

A herald dressed in yellow, carrying trumpet with purple banner, will precede the procession proclaiming the message of this new crusade. This part will be taken by Inez Milholland. After the herald will come the musicians, a woman's band, then standard bearer, then a mounted brigade. Following these the fifty ushers dressed in blue and gold.

The first division of the pageant will present the idea that this movement is world wide. The countries that have equal suffrage will be presented on floats, each one followed by a marching contingent of natives in native costume. After these, the countries that have not equal suffrage will appear in marching contingents according to their suffrage status, those having most suffrage first and those who have none, last. Each delegation will appear in the costume of its country.

The next division will show by a series of four floats in an impressive and dramatic manner which will be serious and dignified, the progress of the suffrage movement in this country. The color scheme of this division will be purple, violet and gold.

The third division will show by a series of floats and marching contingents following each one, that man and woman cooperate in all human

activities except one, and that by logical process, the next step in progress would be that of working together to solve the problems of state. First, the float will show them side by side in the field. This to be followed by a contingent of women farmers. Then in the home followed by the home-makers. Then together the soldier and nurse sharing the hardships of war. This float followed by the women nurses. Next, side by side in education, followed by the college women. Then in law, followed by the lawyers. Then in medicine, followed by the doctors. The last car is the labor car, followed by business women and wage-earners. This division will be followed by the *"Ideal Government"* car, showing man and woman together sharing the burden of state. This car is followed by no representation of women at all.

Then will come other professions and occupations in which women engage. Each representation to be preceded by a single figure which symbolizes the profession. In this division will come the teachers, social workers, writers, artists, musicians, etc.

These will be followed by the State Delegations, some represented by floats and some by marchers. The center or climax of this division will be the big State car celebrating the triumph of the nine states now having equal suffrage and attempting to show the needs of the other states for the same privilege. In this division will appear also a large delegation of men representing the Men's Leagues for woman suffrage.

The automobile parade will be the last of the procession.

One of the most interesting features of the pageant will be the tableau on the Treasury steps. Miss Florence Flemming Noyes, the classic dancer, will take the part of Liberty in this tableau. Nordica has promised, if her engagements will permit, to take the part of Columbia, and sing "The Star-Spangled Banner."

The procession will end in a meeting at Continental Hall, at which leaders of the movement will speak. All seats for this meeting are numbered and reserved. Owing to the regulations of the building, no tickets may be sold and no collection taken. It is therefore hoped that all who apply for tickets will send a contribution of a dollar or so toward the cost of the meeting. All applications for tickets and all contributions toward the cost of the meeting to be addressed to Mrs. Wm. Kent, Chairman of Committee on Continental Hall Meeting, 1420 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Finance Committee of the Joint Inaugural Procession Committee of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the Suffrage Association of the District of Columbia are making a country-wide appeal for funds to assist in defraying the expenses of the parade. Those who can help make this an affair worthy of our cause, are invited to send contributions to the Treasurer, Emma M. Gillett, 1420 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Members of the Woman Suffrage Party are urged to participate in this pageant. The Party will be represented and it is desirable to have as full delegations as possible, to fall in by Assembly Districts under the Borough banners. If you are able to make this trip, which will be, without doubt, the experience of a life time, send word to Headquarters, 30 East 34th Street, Manhattan, at once.

Through the Bureau of Social Requirements, moderate board has been arranged. It will be possible to obtain cots, heat, light and attendants at two dollars a day, without board. Accommodations must be taken for no less than three days, one-third payable in advance, the balance to be collected from each woman upon her arrival.

The National Woman Suffrage Association and the Woman Suffrage Party have arranged for special cars on trains which leave the Pennsylvania Station at 11 o'clock, Saturday morning, March 1st; 11 o'clock Sunday morning and 12 o'clock Sunday evening, March 2nd. Sleepers will be made up at 10 P. M. Upper berths, $1.60; lower $2.00. The round trip fare is $6.80; round trip (good for ten days) $9.00.

WOMAN'S DANGER

THE SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS OF THE WORKING WOMAN.

Courtesy of "The Vote"

WOMAN AND THE LAWMAKERS.

Long have our Anti-suffrage Sisters burned incense before their idol Man; Man the noble, Man the all-powerful, Man the protector of woman; and nothing made a sweeter savor than the contemplation of the Dower Right that Man had been good enough to create for his wife; a life interest of one-third of all lands and tenements of which a husband is possessed. We suffragists have not been properly grateful for this blessing; in view of the fact that comparatively very few men own real estate to-day, and in contemplation of that other New York law which allows a husband to cut off his wife by will from any share in his personal property, at his good pleasure. But it "looked good" to the Antis; and they have chanted and sung it many times, declaring it to be the one protection to the wife that would never be assailed. Behold: there is a bill now before the Senate, bill number 7, introduced (by request) by Senator Herrick, which provides that a wife's dower shall run only in real estate of which he may be possessed "at the time of his decease." If it becomes law, the homestead may be sold at any time by the husband; no signature of the wife will be necessary upon the deed of sale. The day before he dies, a husband may sell all the houses and lands, will the proceeds away and leave his wife to starve. The text of the bill is as follows:

Section 1. Section one hundred and ninety of article six of chapter fifty-two of the laws of nineteen hundred and nine, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

§ 190. Dower. A widow shall be endowed of the third part of all the lands whereof her husband was seized of an estate of inheritance, [at any time during the marriage] *at the time of his decease.*

§ 2. This act shall take effect immediately.

Another bill comes from the hands of Friend Cuvillier, in the Assembly. It would amend the State Constitution, so that in future the Legislature shall pass no law making any distinction or discrimination between the sexes in relation to personal, civil, or property rights. It also declares null and void all existing laws that make such distinction. This would end the right of a wife to support from her husband, of course, and kill the woman's 54-hour law, etc. Two years ago we lost the right to act as watchers at the polls, a right which may be very essential when woman suffrage comes to a vote. A third bill which concerns women deeply is the Greenberg bill, which proposes to authorize the police department to create zones for the segregation of vice, the women (not the men, of course) to be registered, photographed, and controlled by the police, with medical inspection and compulsory treatment. It would seem that our unhappy city needs but this to complete her shame. As long as women are political nonentities, their liberties and their happiness may be the football of any legislative body. —S.

THE VOTER AND WHITE SLAVERY.

This number of *The Woman Voter* has been edited with a view of appealing to the interest and intelligence rather than to the emotions. We have not had space for individual stories of the sort that correspond to Aechylus' definition of tragedy; that which moves the heart to pity and terror. To all of our readers we say, read the vice reports from the splendid library of the American Vigilance Association, 156 Fifth Avenue, order such books as Jane Addams' *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* or Lavinia Dock's *Hygiene and Morality* and familiarize yourself with the details of this subject and then you will not be alarmed by the words, lurid, hysterical, sensational. The facts are more lurid and sensational than the most morbid over-wrought imagination could conjure.

With the April *Voter* we shall open a new department of information regarding the New York stores, giving suggestions as to various lines of clothing and household goods.

CALENDAR FOR MARCH.

March 1st.—Woman Suffrage Party, Bronx, 35th Assembly District. 2:30 P. M., 2387 Grand Avenue. Social Club.

March 3rd.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 27th Assembly District, Executive meeting, 30 East 34th Street. 5 P. M.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 23rd Assembly District. 8 P. M. Republican Club. Suffrage meeting. Speakers, Mrs. Granville Munson, Mrs. William Grant Brown.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 1st Assembly District. 8 P. M. Richmond Hill House, Elsa Uland, presiding.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 29th Assembly District. Canvassing Night. Workers and Captains assemble 7:30 at 616 Madison Ave.

March 4th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Queens, L. I. Hollis Suffrage Club. Home of Mrs. H. Geiger, Flushing Avenue, Hollis. 2:30 P. M. Speaker, Mrs. De Rivera.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Dancing Class. 180 Madison Avenue. 8 P. M.

Woman Suffrage Party, Richmond, 1st Assembly District. St. Marks, 8:15. Suffrage meeting.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 4th Assembly District, 301 Henry Street, 8 P. M. Mothers' Club of P. S. 147, Kindergarten. Jewish speaker on suffrage, by request.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Meeting of 17th Assembly District with the "Life as a fine Arts Club" at Mrs. Morton's, 224 Riverside Drive. 3:30 P. M.

March 5th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Republican Club, 201 West 139th Street. 8:30 P. M. Mrs. Hirons, the District Leader, presiding. Mrs. Helen Hoy-Greeley, speaker.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 29th Assembly District. Good Government Club will hold a meeting and reception at Hotel St. Regis, 3-5 o'clock.

March 7th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. 8 P. M. Meeting at the Monongahela Democratic Club, 367 Manhattan Avenue.

Woman Suffrage Party, Brooklyn, 506 Hemlock Street. 8 P. M. Open suffrage meeting.

March 8th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Suffrage Tea, 3 P. M., home of Mrs. Allan Dawson, 45 West 12th Street. Speakers, Mrs. Winch, Miss Parks.

March 9th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Forty-eighth Street Theatre, Broadway and 48th Street. 8:15 P. M. "What if Women Should Vote?" B. Fay Mills. Great Mass Meeting.

March 10th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 12th Assembly District. Friends Seminary, 226 East 16th Street, 8 P. M. Speaker, Mrs. Gertrude Nelson Andrews, "The Assembly District in Its Relation to the State."

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Executive meeting, 30 East 34th Street. 4:30.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 29th Assembly District. Republican Club, 8:15. Subject: "What Is an Anti?" Meeting open to all. Prize for best definition. Judges to be selected.

March 11th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Suffrage Discussion. 8 o'clock. Hudson Progressive Club, 237 West 99th Street.

Woman Suffrage Party, Brooklyn. Regular monthly meeting, 27 Lafayette Street, 8 P. M. Report by leader of the Washington march.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 19th Assembly District, Executive meeting of Board, 195 Claremont Avenue. 8 P. M.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Dancing class, 180 Madison Avenue. 8 o'clock.

March 12th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 25th Assembly District, 3:30. Tea at home of Mrs. John Z. Low's, 39½ Washington Square. Speaker: Elisabeth Freeman.

March 14th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 19th Assembly District, 8 P. M. Meeting at the Republican Club, 363 West 117th Street.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 14th Assembly District. Meeting at home of Vice-Leader, Mrs. L. Baron, 325 East 31st Street. 8 o'clock.

March 15th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Tea. Home of Mrs. A. H. Southwick, 116 West 11th Street. 3 P. M. Speakers: Miss Knapp, Mrs. Suffren.

March 17th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Richmond, 1st Assembly District. Suffrage meeting, Unitarian Chapel, 8:30 P. M. Speaker, Rev. John Haynes Holmes.

March 18th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan. Meeting of 17th Assembly District Club. 8 P. M., at the Hudson Progressive Club, 237 West 99th Street.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Dancing class. 8 P. M. 180 Madison Avenue.

March 21st.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 2nd Assembly District, 13 Montgomery Street. 8:15 P. M. Meeting for young men and women. Speakers, Mr. and Mrs. Laidlaw.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. 8 P. M. Meeting. Claremont Progressive Club, 550 West 113th Street.

March 24th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 1st Assembly District. Richmond Hill House, 8 P. M. District meeting.

March 25th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 15th Assembly District. Chinese Dress Ball, Leslie Hall, 83rd Street and Broadway. 8 P. M. Tickets, 50 cents each, may be obtained at district headquarters, 227 West 83rd Street.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Suffrage Club meeting. 8 o'clock. Hudson Progressive Club, 237 West 99th Street.

March 27th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Social meeting. 3 P. M., given by the Captain of the 6th Election District, Mrs. E. R. Cox.

March 28th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 14th Assembly District. Captains' meeting. 8 o'clock, 325 East 31st Street.

Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Meeting of District Club, 8 P. M., 130 Claremont Avenue.

March 29th.—Woman Suffrage Party, Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Suffrage Tea. Mrs. J. W. Travell, 27 East 11th Street. 3 P. M. Speakers, Mrs. James L. Laidlaw, Mrs. Rose Livingston.

POLITICAL EQUALITY ASSOCIATION.

Headquarters

13 and 15 EAST 41st STREET

New York

Monday, March 3rd.—Miss M. Mander of New Zealand will speak on "What Women have gained by the Vote in New Zealand."

Monday, March 10th.—Miss Lucy E. Anthony will tell about "The Illegal Trial of Susan B. Anthony for Voting."

Monday, March 17th.—Dr. Emily Noble will give a "Colored Picture Story of Panama, Old and New." This will be an illustrated lecture on Panama, including the Panama Canal.

Monday, March 24th.—Mr. Frederick H. Whitin will speak on the "Social Evil" and Mr. Bayard Veiller, author of "Within the Law," will give a suffrage talk.

Monday, March 31st.—Miss Dorothy Frooks will give a suffrage talk.

EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY.

8 East 37th Street.

Wednesday, March 5th.—4 P. M. Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, Sec. Nat. Child Labor Com. Subject: The Child in Industry. Hostess: Mrs. C. B. Barkley.

Wednesday, March 12th.—4 P. M. Dr. Luther H. Gulick, Pres. Camp Fire Girls of America. Subject: The New Relation of Women to the World. Hostess: Mrs. Lewis Delafield.

Wednesday, March 19th.—4 P. M. Miss Maude Miner, Sec. N. Y. Probation Assoc. Subject: Preventive Measures in Probation Work. Hostess: Mrs. Carr Van Anda.

Wednesday, March 26th.—4 P. M. Mrs. Blatch, Mrs. Nathan, Mrs. Simkhovitch, Mrs. Cosgrave and others. Questions Answered by Prominent Suffragists. Hostess: Mrs. Wm. Adams Brown. Tea served at 5 o'clock.

Free to members. Non-members, 50c. admission.

THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN

BY

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

A FEW weeks ago, the police of San Francisco made a raid upon a Chinese resort and captured three Chinese slave girls who had been imprisoned in the place after having been smuggled into the city from a Pacific Mail Steamer a month previous. These girls by some unaccountable means had been successfully passed by Federal officers, bundled into a taxi cab, and carried to this resort where they had been forcibly detained and compelled to immorality. A fellow Chinese had a grudge against the keeper of the "joint" and got even by giving the clue to the police. Had this not happened the girls would still be there. The place was found to be a veritable "Chinese puzzle" of secret panels, crooked passages, and mysterious trap doors. The trembling girls were found crouched in a corner of a room which was entered by a ladder through a trap door in the floor, the ladder having been drawn up and the trap door closed. The police were about to give up the search when they discovered a secret panel which led into a passage where a trap door led through another passage into an airless attic where the three slaves were hidden.

This is no isolated horror. It is only one more burst of smoke which reveals the fire of crime against women common to all parts of the world. Women have been bought and sold into slavery for the purpose of prostitution ever since the earliest days of authentic history. Thousands of Asiatic girls are captured or bought every year to supply the ever increasing demands of commercialized sex vice. Japanese and Chinese girls have been smuggled into the United States continually since the exclusion acts made such immigrants unlawful, and before that date they were brought to American ports openly. They are slaves as certainly as were the Negroes before the Civil War, their masters having bought them for money at sales which in their own lands are perfectly legal. These Asiatic women, Chinese and Japanese especially, are to be found all over the globe. The crowded population, the low regard for women, the poverty of the people all combine to produce an unlimited supply of girls who can be bought from fathers and guardians or captured outright. The American, reflecting upon these well-known facts, is apt to jump to the self-righteous conclusion, that this international traffic in Asiatic women is only one more evidence that Asia is only semi-civilized. "Heathen Asia," he ejaculates and dismisses the subject with a shrug of the shoulders.

Whether a traffic in slave women has always been conducted in the Western world is a question difficult to answer, but it certainly exists now. Fathers in the famine districts of Christian Russia have repeatedly sold their daughters to slavers who have hurried them across Siberia to Asiatic ports where white sons of Christian Nations demand the service of white women. The revelations of William Stead years ago betrayed the connection of men of standing in Great Britain with the capture and importation of girl slaves from all parts of Europe. Indeed there is no nation, Christian or Heathen, which is free from complicity in this relic of barbarism, and to call it the "White Slave Traffic" is a misnomer, for girls of all races and nations are among the unfortunate victims.

Spasmodic investigations into the general subject of municipal graft have invariably uncovered the fact that the police have protected prostitution and meantime have fattened on the toll they have extorted from the keepers. Thus protected, those who live by the traffic in women have found an abundant market for all the girls they have been able to catch.

Stanley W. Finch, Chief of the Bureau of Investigation, of the Department of Justice, whose peculiar opportunities for intimate and accurate knowledge give unusual weight to his testimony, says that:

"Not less than 25,000 young women and girls are annually procured for this traffic and that no less than 50,000 men and women are engaged in procuring and living on the earnings of these women and girls, and that the number of women and girls engaged in prostitution in this country at the present time is estimated at not less than 250,000."

What is to be done about it? The hope of the present time is that revelations of such scope have been made to the public that thousands of men and women, indifferent yesterday, are keenly alert and watchful to-day. The cause of the new awakening is the shocking, terrible details of the slave traffic, but it is found by all investigators to be so inextricably connected with prostitution that no attack upon one can be effective unless aimed at both.

Prostitution is illegal everywhere. Better and more effective laws may be required and these will not be difficult to secure. Such concessions are repeatedly made to popular uprisings, but when the busy people, who have joined in the demand withdraw their attention and entrust the enforcement of the new law to the police, the old system of graft gradually returns, the slavers come out of their hiding and nothing permanent is accomplished. When it is remembered that the saloons and prostitution are too often closely connected, as was completely demonstrated by the Report of the Chicago Vice Commission, and that these resorts have always been the recruiting grounds of certain types of politicians, it is evident that the fight against sex slavery and prostitution is not a moral but a political campaign.

Education, continuous and persistent, will do

much. When clergymen, doctors, parents and teachers are made to understand the full import of the degenerating influences upon the entire race, which arise from prostitution, to say nothing of morals or sex slavery, we may hope for a steady improvement in conditions. But in any event, the final test is the enforcement of the law. Now, a powerful voting constituency, composed of those who share directly in the profits of this unspeakable business, of patrons who maintain it, of real estate owners and agents, purveyors of all sorts of food and clothing and furnishing supplies, a cheap kind of druggists and doctors with a considerable per cent. of saloon interests, stands an almost invincible guard to defend it from every attack. Witnesses disappear, clues lead to nothing, a conspiracy of silence prevails. The police who take the graft are obviously part of an intricate system. They may even be blameless as individuals, for they have no strong outspoken backing of those opposed to the non-enforcement of law. The final arbiter of this problem must ever be the ballot box.

There is but one certain and permanent cure—woman suffrage, and even this will not bring immediate results. There has been a double standard of morals since the beginning of things. The man's standard is enfranchised. It is an active energy in politics and is the source of all police graft upon commercialized vice. It is his standard which maintains prostitution. When the woman's standard is enfranchised every police force will feel the presence of a constituency behind it demanding the enforcement of the law. It is a mere mathematical problem of numbers. He who runs should be able to read that conclusion. By the most conservative estimate there are fifteen fallen men to one fallen woman. They are now enfranchised and represent a defensive force of the entire system, all the more powerful for being secret. Women there are among those who benefit from this trade but they are the minority. The great majority of those who make it possible have votes to protect their point of view. It is the sinned against who are silent on election day.

The opposition to this form of immorality will from the nature of things be enormously strengthened when it is equipped with votes. Yet none who know the real character and history of prostitution and sex slavery will expect sudden and complete changes from any agency. We began a thousand years too late to make quick work of it.

The first bill introduced into an American Legislature by a woman was one for the protection of girls in the State of Colorado. No sooner were the women of Washington enfranchised than the Mayors of Seattle and Tacoma were "recalled," chiefly as the result of the activity of women, and the cause was their collusion with the social evil. In California, at the last election, every candidate for an office which had the slightest connection with the enforcement of law, took particular pains to declare his convictions and political record to be on the right side of

Have You a Daughter for Sale?
Cartoon Used by Women in the Cotterill-Gill Campaign
(Courtesy of the Western Woman Voter.)

the slave traffic. The enforcement of law in Denver has resulted in the steady decline in the number of prostitutes there. There is nothing phenomenal in these records but they point the way which the women of our country will walk.

The influences which tend to perpetuate prostitution are too many and too far reaching to be easily removed. Wages too low to enable a girl to supply the ordinary and most pressing needs of life is one of the most tragic causes. Votes for women in the long run will tend to remove causes. The tendency will be to raise wages; to establish better working conditions for women; to open new avenues of endeavor thus relieving the congested trades; to secure protection of women more fortunately placed. But these will of necessity be gradual, not immediate changes.

The social evil is entrenched through centuries of encouragement and its roots reach back into the fundamental causes which ages ago robbed the women of the world of their individuality and held them in a position of utter dependency. Years of education and persistent effort coupled with votes in the hands of all opponents of this gigantic crime against the race, will bring a solution. The first step must be taken now. If you earnestly desire a solution of this problem, do your utmost to secure votes for the women of New York.

"She is the most mournful and most fearful figure in history. She remains while creeds and nations rise and fall, the eternal sacrifice of humanity, blasted for the sins of the world."

W. E. H. Lecky.

"DEMAND AND SUPPLY"

BY
FREDERICK H. WHITIN
General Secretary, Committee of Fourteen, New York City.

WHEREIN are existing conditions of the Social Evil different from the years and centuries past?

First: In the questioning by the public (men and women) as to whether masculine sex necessity is a real necessity or only a stimulated and cultivated one. This questioning follows a knowledge of the dangers from disease incident to sexual immorality. We know to-day that the sufferers are not only the participants but also innocent wives and children. Belief in "necessity" is the cause of the greatest part of the normal demand. It causes the generally current belief in toleration and segregation, which makes possible white slavery by physical compulsion.

Second: The evil has been commercialized. Men have seen that they could exploit the sexual passion of the male and have found it a profitable business. Heretofore prostitution has been a business of individuals or at least of women. To-day the papers tell of a "Vice Trust," which is really a series of groups of vice commercializers, definitely known to those working for the suppression of the social evil.

These men for their profit stimulate the "demand." This condition is the opportunity for the cadet or pimp, the White Slaver. The demand for fresh young women, stimulates these smaller commercializers to profitable action. With the increased standard of living, and increased love of luxury and an increased competition among women wage-earners, the victims for exploitation are not hard to find.

How are these conditions to be met? First: by a determination of the question of "necessity." By a recognition of masculine instinct and its God given purpose and the existing abnormal situation. By the recognition that economic ability and economic equality must be given every woman that she may resist the temptation to sell herself, whether she is sought by the man or she seeks him.

Second: Our public officials must be made to see that the social evil of to-day is commercialized and that they are dealing not with the age-old problem of sexual immorality but with criminals who attack society at its heart, the home. It is not for the officials to argue "sex necessity," that is not the question. To reach these commercializers by criminal proceedings is difficult for they have clever counsel to defend them. Property, however, is involved as never before. Hit this and the commercializer is mortally hurt. This is the purpose of an Injunction and Abatement act now before Congress for the District of Columbia. A similar bill has been introduced by Senator Wagner in the New York Legislature and is reported to have been introduced in many other States.

To reach the cadet and pimp we have the Federal Law known as the Mann Act. The effectiveness of this law is limited only by the appropriation for its enforcement. Recently the laws of New York were strengthened, but the real difficulty to-day is the fundamental one of evidence. Shall circumstantial evidence be sufficient? Shall the unsupported testimony of a woman as against the man's denial, be sufficient? We cannot waive these rights in one kind of cases and not in all.

Finally we must reduce the demand by suppressing commercialized inducements to vice; we must demand a higher standard for men and penalize the violator; women must understand men and their natures, that they may help and not hinder the maintenance of the higher standard.

We must educate women to command an adequate wage and we must set our standard of living to meet the current wage that temptation to immorality may not be too great. We must restrain our incompetents that by reproduction they may not increase their number.

The problem of the Social Evil, of Demand and Supply, is a problem of the sexes. As the sin and crime is not one of either sex, so the solution is not for men alone or women alone but for both men and women.

RECENT NEW YORK NEWSPAPER HEADLINES.

We do not apologize for the sensational character of these statements. It's all in the daily news.

YOUNG GIRL ELUDES CAPTORS. DAUGHTER OF RICH ROCHESTER PARENTS TELLS HOW MEN ABDUCTED HER.

WHITE SLAVERS ACTIVE. CASES OF DRUGGED CHOCOLATES. WARNING TO TELEPHONE GIRLS!

RAIDERS FIND GIRL LOCKED IN CLOSET. PLEADS TO BE SAVED FROM "THOSE HORRID MEN."

SLAVE AUCTIONS HELD BY GREEDY MASTERS. "NO NEW YORK GIRL IS SAFE." NEW YORK IN THE GRIP OF AN ALL POWERFUL VICE TRUST.

DEATH SIGNS IN COURTROOM TERRORIZE WOMAN WITNESS.

WHITE SLAVERS ACTIVE IN EVERY CITY; UNSAFE FOR GIRLS.

THE A. B. C. OF THE QUESTION

BY

HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW

IN trying to understand a problem so complex and manysided as this of the Social Evil, it is well to get a certain perspective, to lay hold of certain basic facts, and, amid the storm of conflicting opinions and testimony, not to mention the purposeful befogging on the part of those who seek to confuse the issue, be able to say, "This thing I *know*." In this whole problem there is one predominant element which it is perfectly possible to understand and analyze—that is, the *White Slave Traffic*. These words are no sooner uttered than quibbling begins. If it shall fall to your lot to stand up against not only some of those varied and numerous individuals who are dealing *in* the white slave traffic directly or remotely, but those varied and numerous individuals who are dealing *with* it one way or another, there are certain points upon which it is necessary that you do not allow yourself to be bullied or brow-beaten or hoodwinked. We need all the light we can get on this subject, and we need every possible stimulus to galvanize an apathetic public into widespread action.

First: You will frequently hear the term, "*so-called* white slave traffic." Some people use the term for ulterior reasons; others to show their well-poised, unexcitable minds! You can put it down as your first basic fact that there *is* a white slave traffic, municipal, state, national and international; and that the use of the adjective "so-called" reveals absolutely either the self-interest or the ignorance of the user. If you don't know this first hand, get to work and find it out.

Second: Do not confuse the white slave traffic with "human nature," the "immemorial evil," the "delicate and complicated question of sex," or any other aspect of the sex or social problem. The white slave traffic in the United States to-day is, as the Chicago Vice Report says, just as much a traffic as the industry in grain or meat. It is related to human nature on the side of lust and greed, but this relationship does not explain it. The white slave traffic is conditioned on *an artificially stimulated demand and an artificially procured supply*.

Third: Do not allow the "high-minded," calm, unemotional statistician, who is more horrified at an incorrect figure than at the whole white slave traffic, to chill your zeal, dampen your generous ardor and make you feel like a crude sentimentalist, a rank outsider, who perhaps after all ought to leave this question to those experts who know something about it! Remember, it is more important to be aroused than to be accurate. Apathy is more of a crime than exaggeration in dealing with this subject.

Tell your cautious and careful critic that he is missing the point. Of old, says the story, a nation went in mourning for ten maidens sacrificed annually to the Minataur. Will not one thousand serve to stir us? Let the quibbler have his way, let him rail in indignation at what he calls Mr. London's "absurd," "discredited" figures—26,000 prostitutes in New York. Let him, if he will, scourge the "sentimentalist" with that righteous scorn that might better be reserved for "the system" from the pimp to the pander, from the corrupt judge to the rich politician. In the meantime, find out for yourself. You have access to most sources of information, you can read statistics, weigh and compare as well as others. We people who want to know have been "the laity" as far as the three learned professions are concerned. Are we now to be ever answered by the expert investigators that these matters, too, belong to their realm and told to keep our place? Of all the good lusty old lies that have been unthinkingly repeated, one of the most substanceless is that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." Much knowledge is more desirable than a little; but the only thing that is more dangerous than a little knowledge is none. I challenge anyone to give a concrete illustration to refute the truth that ever so little knowledge is better than complete ignorance. On this quibble about how many thousand unfortunate women there are, how many thousand men are living on the proceeds of their misery, how many million dollars are made, what percentage of men and women have a venereal disease, how many politicians are involved, and how many police the politicians have corrupted, you can afford to say that you are more interested in the *qualitative* than in the quantitative analysis anyway!

That brings us to our fourth point. Don't accept snap classifications of women and girls in this miserable trade. You will be told many strange things. Even ingenious, earnest people have become so ham-strung about not wishing to appear sensational that they are not willing to admit the facts. When a reputable person insists that there is no kidnapping, no violence to speak of, little compulsion to keep the girl in the life; as a matter of cold hard logic you immediately think of where you've heard those remarks before, and realize that this good reputable person is saying what all those interested in the vice-mill ever insist upon. Then you wonder why it is a part of wisdom to minimize the misery, horror and danger. Then often, very unjustly, you become suspicious of the good person. You have found such strange unbelievable ramifications of self-interest in this network of the white slave traffic! Or if you absolutely believe in the good, earnest person, you point out to him that by a strange irony he places himself in a very undesirable class. You will even be frank and brutal and ask him not to undermine his influence for good by talking like a vice agent! You will try to acquaint such a person with facts.

You will try to show that the mentally deficient girl, the lazy girl, the girl under economic pressure, the bad girl—and these four form the favorite classification—does not cover the case. There are thousands of girls in the life who were perfectly normal, who were comfortably off, even rich, who were not "bad" and not "lazy." You will ask why, if the mentally deficient, the lazy, the poor and the bad can supply the annual toll of lives demanded by greed and corruption—why every far reaching art, every form of force, ingenuity, craft, guile, plot and violence, that the human mind can conceive, should be employed.

The greatest single element in the whole problem is the economic struggle that denies a living wage to girls, but the powerful allies of overwork and starvation are not sufficient in themselves to recruit the victims. Never forget, fathers and mothers, that imminent and unspeakable peril lies about the lives of our youngmen and women with which character, intelligence and well-being cannot always cope. Ask yourself keenly and searchingly what ulterior motive anyone has for trying to prove that these dangers do not exist. Fifth: When you hear involved analyses of this problem in our great cities, remember that it is much a plain question of political corruption and cupidity. This realization makes suffragists and active suffragists. Psychological analysis of the defective, investigation of economic conditions, every avenue of scientific approach which can add to our wisdom or knowledge on this subject is valuable. But do not get lost in a maze of sociological, biological, neurological data. Don't be involved. Be direct. Don't spare too much energy solemnly investigating. Use your energy towards abolition. Work for an "injunction and abatement law" such as Iowa has, and other repressive measures, work for the education of the young on one hand, and for arousing popular indignation on the other. Work for public safety, remembering ever that a large part of our problem is the girl who is taken, not the girl who goes; the girl who is under compulsion, not the girl who wants to stay. And above all, remember that back of all these things lies political righteousness, including justice politically and economically to women.

Why have I thought it necessary to write in this somewhat tart, defensive way? Because so many times lately I have seen men and women who had been roused to that ardent interest, that burning denunciation which, and which only can lash people generally to that drastic action necessary—seen them mentally and spiritually beaten into comfortable insensibility again by those who talk of the "so-called" white slave traffic, by those who minimize the extent of this evil; by those who cool sympathy for the girls by approbrious generalizations about them; by those who will not acknowledge the part a double moral standard, low amusements, nicotine and alcoholism play in stimulating the demand and the part woman's lack of political status, drugs, violence, fraud, deception, unthinkable cruelty, terrorism and and treachery play in procuring the supply, by treachery play in procuring the supply; by those who, with a pitying smile for credulity insist "there is no system" and warn against exaggeration and sensationalism.

It is a wicked thing to reduce people to a state of hopelessness in this question when they should be filled with a crusader-like hope and valor. Another lusty old lie which should be slain and buried is, "You can never legislate an evil out of existence." That is utterly false. The great campaign of education in nursery, and schoolroom, in lecture-hall, conference and convention, in church and theatre, the great awakening of the public heart and mind must ultimately find one decisive expression, that is at the ballot-box. And so far from being emotional, rash, importunate on this subject, the true suffragist is firm and steady as the north star. She will not be warped from her orbit, she will not be wrung or maddened by the Individual Instance, The Heart-Breaking Case. She says, "Let the sad procession pass; better a thousand shall perish this year than that tens of thousands should perish in the years to come." She says "This is my woman's work, to attack this monster, and I will not cast myself madly, blindly into the fray until I am armed and equipped. My armor is economic independence and political equality, my weapon the ballot."

Try to stand firmly on this ground I have mapped out. If you are a man of standing, business integrity, calm judgment, you will not like to be called "emotional" and "hysterical." If you are a woman of social experience, laboratory training, with the scientific habit of mind, and possessed of some intellectual pride and self-respect, you will not like the superior smile and the sneer of the clear-minded, rational citizen who chides you for "bringing disrepute upon our great city." But take courage in this comforting assurance: the more disingenuous the person, the wider the smile, the more definitely he is implicated with vice interests, the more bitter the sneer.

"Fifty thousand young women and girls are lost in the United States every year. They simply drop out of existence." The report of the Immigration League of Chicago for 1910 shows that in that year, 1,700 young women disappeared between the port of New York and Chicago alone.

"The most dangerous element in all the graft syndicate are the cadets and white slavers and the members of the so-called 'vice trust.' These people are the most desperate of the lot. The men who killed Rosenthal, although considered as belonging to the gambling fraternity, were all white slavers and gang men. The white slave business will receive such a blow as has never been delivered it in any country in the world if its relations with the police are exposed in the graft trials."—*The Evening Globe.*

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Modern Abolitionists From the beginning of the suffrage agitation, women have been stirred, not only by the abstract justice of their demand, but by the actual social problems which they face and realize must be solved. One of the proudest records of the work of pioneer suffragists is their part in the movement which resulted in the emancipation of the American negro. We followers of to-day face a kind of slavery even more heart-rending and hideous than that serfdom which ended with the Civil War. Whether we like the problem of white slavery or not, matters little: the evil exists, and the women of this country must take their place in the struggle for its solution. We are the modern abolitionists and we demand that the traffic in women shall cease. *We women of New York demand the ballot as our weapon with which to enter this greatest combat of modern times—the war on white slavery.*

White Slavery That women have been led to barter their bodies for the lust of men is a grim social evil. That they are compelled to ply such trade unwillingly and for the gain of those who exploit them is intolerable. This is slavery more degrading than the sale of negro labor which brought on the Civil War. Yet the traffic in white girls goes on to-day in our great cities, unchecked by effective public action.

A government expert recently testified before the Curran Committee that there are 26,000 women in brothels and on the streets of New York who support 6,100 men by their earnings. It is known that these dealers have widespreading agencies throughout the community to supply fresh young human live stock to the market that quickly consumes them. It is estimated that the annual income from this business amounts to $57,000,000, most of which goes to keepers of disorderly resorts and their protectors.

The misery of the victims of this system cannot be described. Treated as prisoners or driven as beasts, beaten or drugged into submission, subjected to revolting indignities and urged to robbery and blackmail, suffering from disease, torn by fear of their masters and of the authorities, deprived of natural affection and denied social justice, the lives of these girls is a period of torment.

A few weeks ago, a young woman soon to become a mother, was discovered walking the streets to support her paramour. She was taken to a hospital to await the coming of her child. Within a few days of the expected event, the man appeared and demanded her release. She was again put upon the street to earn. After the child was born the man took it away to prevent interference with its mother's occupation. This male person is now at large in the city. The whereabouts of the woman and child are at present unknown.

The suffering from this business is not confined to those who carry it on. These unfortunate women bring a terrible vengeance upon the community that allows such degradation. The safety of its maidens is threatened; the health and sanity of its young men is destroyed by loathsome diseases; the life and vigor of innocent wives and babies is imperilled by transmitted taint; the public is menaced with blindness and paralysis lurking in basins and drinking cups. Even the government and the morals of the whole people are polluted. Landlords accept high rentals for disorderly houses; saloon, theatre and hotel keepers receive a premium for encouraging immorality; the police are bribed and the courts are influenced. We punish the exploited woman, but smile at her patron and wink at her manager. We pretend ignorance of the evil, while we establish philanthropies to care for a few survivors. We preach continence and recommend medical control. We guarantee personal liberty and tolerate servitude of the most abominable sort. The very foundations of our self respect are sapped by this hidden evil.

Why does this system exist? First, because men are lustful. Economic conditions do not permit many to enjoy decent recreation nor to establish a household of their own. Social usage allows them to gratify their passions. Thus the demand is established.

Secondly, many women are weak, ignorant and driven by want. Young girls are frequently lured into the business by men who promise the pleasure and protection lacking at home. Sheer lonliness and love of adventure drives many servants and factory hands into the clutches of cadets who wait in dance halls and amusement parks. Once trapped, the victim is bullied into helpless submission. She does not know how to get out, or sees little hope in so doing. Other women deliberately make the hard bargain because it is the last chance for earning a living. It is impossible to get along on three or four dollars a week. When work is slack a man can beg or steal; but when a girl cannot find a place she takes to the street or the river. Here is the supply.

The business itself is profitable to those who conduct it. Joined with the liquor traffic and various kinds of entertainment, the "wine, woman and song" combination is the greatest paying attraction before the public. Restauranters, landlords and purveyors of various articles such as drugs and cheap ornaments, all get a rake-off. These extensive financial interests promote the trade that supports them.

Officers of the law connive at the evil, because it is profitable for them also. Although the statutes forbid and penalize the traffic in women, few administrators question its existence. If quietly conducted, it does not disturb those who

object, while those interested are willing to pay generously for toleration and protection.

Finally, the great mass of the people do not know about the matter. They do not care greatly if it does not immediately affect them. Most persons are uncertain of the attitude to be adopted toward it and an active minority actually favor it. In brief, it is not clear that the public demands that the business be checked; nor are those who do so agreed as to the most effective means to be employed.

What can we do about it? Most people would agree that involuntary servitude with abuse should not be allowed under any interpretation of the law. The exploitation of children in occupations dangerous to life, health and morals is also forbidden in civilized countries. We should prevent the open flaunting of vice and its insidious combination with apparently respectable amusement open to the young. Self-supporting women must be assured a wage sufficient to secure decent living conditions. Boys and girls should be educated in the facts of sex life by those able to present the matter in a wholesome and scientific manner. Finally, men must be brought to see that continence is a virtue in both sexes, and women must realize that not motherhood, but loveless marriage is a disgrace. In such ways we may strike at the roots of the Social Evil and its most disgusting manifestation, white slavery.

H. B. W.

WOMEN IN THE MORAL AWAKENING.

BY

CLIFFORD G. ROE

American Vigilance Association.

Heretofore women have aided in the campaign for better morals. At the present time they have become important factors in solving the moral problems which have perplexed civilized nations. In the past their efforts were necessarily more indirect and subtle because opportunity offered no other way.

As we look back upon the events which have influenced and made possible the great moral awakening of the present day we find that somewhere all along women played their parts in these events. Also we find that men, too often, have claimed the centre of the stage and have received the major portion of the applause.

The time has come, however, when women with all propriety may be leaders even in the matters which concern the socalled social evil. No longer is it considered immodest for women to discuss publicly moral problems, and this fact proves that the era of *false* modesty is vanishing as surely as the era of man alone made laws and man alone governed states is vanishing. The heritage of generations, the belief that ignorance concerning vice is innocence, is disappearing with the incoming of the freedom for women. And since women are coming into their own right and at the same time casting aside the mask of prudery and affected innocence we are brought to the consideration of the oft-repeated question; will "votes for women" improve the moral standards?

The answer is that men have legislated and governed for centuries and yet the moral standard has not been elevated appreciably. Women have shared in making laws and in governing in about one-fifteenth of the earth's surface for a comparatively short time but during that time the betterment of a moral standard has been quite marked. This is all the more apparent because in the past men have insisted on one-sex morality, one-sex philosophy and one-sex laws. In opposing this viewpoint women have insisted upon one standard of morals for both sexes, one philosophy for both sexes, and one standard of laws for both sexes. No longer will women be discriminated against and cast aside by society while men are pardoned, forgiven and received by society with open arms. Where women have received the ballot they have asked only for the fair deal which they deserve and they have proved to thinking and fair-minded men the selfishness and hypocrisy of a double standard of morals.

The result of woman suffrage has been legislation which raised the age of consent, which improved conditions surrounding children and which improved the public morals.

In support of this contention a few facts are set forth. For example: turn to Seattle and witness there the houses of vice swept out of existence by a moral uprising sustained by women's votes. Again in California women employed a lawyer to draft a bill against pandering and white slavery, using the Illinois pandering law as a model, and succeeding in getting the act passed. Likewise in Idaho women who vote were instrumental in the passing of a white slave law, and are now seeking an injunction law, similar to the one in Iowa, against houses of ill fame. Now turn to New Zealand which has enjoyed equal suffrage since 1893 and we find there a land without a brothel.

With such illustrations of the influence of women for moral betterment where given a chance, is there any doubt why those who have been laboring in a practical way for clean manhood and womanhood with one voice say: "Speed the day when women everywhere will have equal rights with men!"

There are, at a conservative estimate, 5,000 exploited women in Chicago. The annual profits from this kind of lawbreaking are $16,000,000.

Dean W. T. Sumner.

OUR MODERN CRUSADE.

BY

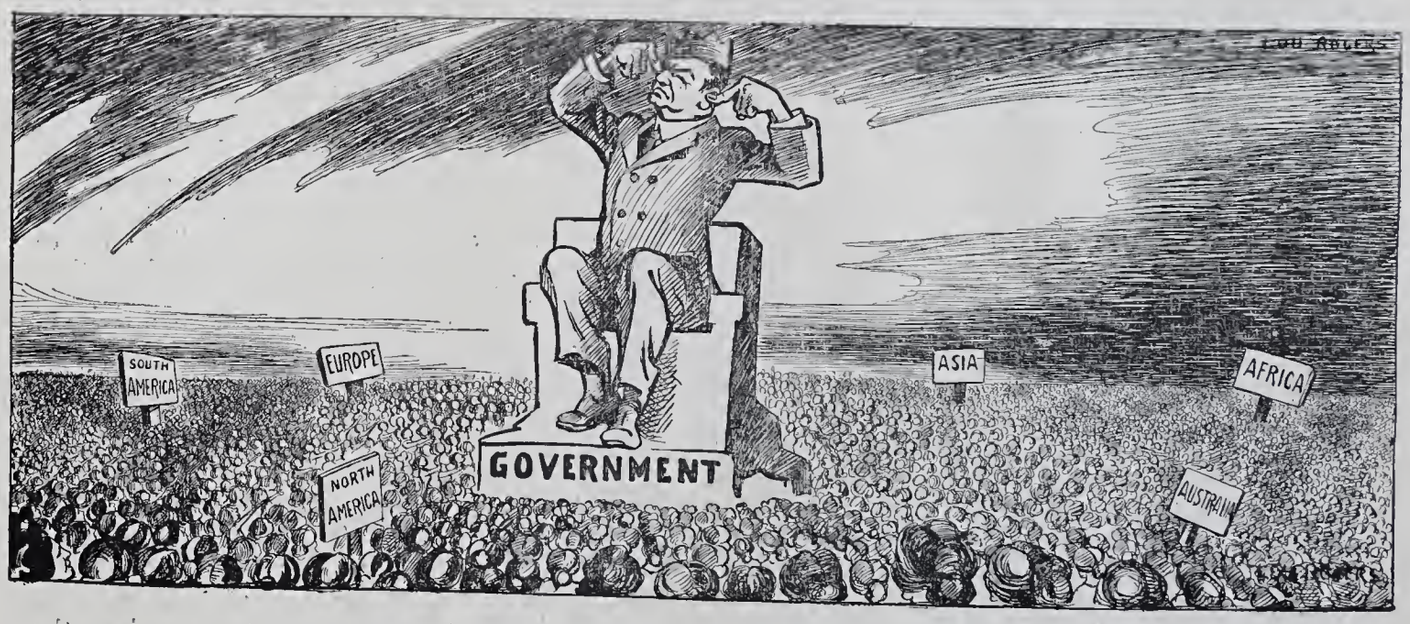
JANE ADDAMS.

Extracts from a speech delivered in Carnegie Hall to 3,000 men of the Men and Religion Forward Movement.

THOUSANDS of decent men have developed a peculiar distrust of human nature, a cynicism which assumes that a certain proportion of men in every community will so inevitably violate the laws of chastity as to make the prostitute a social necessity, and the free masonry among men in regard to her does much to lower the moral tone of the whole community.

This widespread worldly cynicism has become so registered in our political affairs that any probe into the vice conditions of a city, made by a grand jury or a commission, uniformly discovers that prostitution is the root source of political corruption. Nowhere is the hypocrisy in regard to it so clearly revealed. Although laws declaring it illegal have been placed upon the statute books, which even the hardest politician dares not repeal, out of respect for public opinion, nevertheless, backed by this universal cynicism, the politicians openly consider the laws too impracticable to be enforced, and not only deliberately decide not to enforce them but actually define the conditions under which this law breaking is permitted. To permit such license in one particular is, of course, utterly to demoralize the entire public service. The police connivance at prostitution inevitably creates a necessity for both graft and blackmail; the graft is easy because the owner of an illicit business expects to pay for it, and every politician to the tip-top of the administration receives his share of this illicit fund; in connection with this a municipal blackmail is also established which just escapes legal recognition. *Prostitution,* protected by a thick hedge of secrecy, imperceptibly renewing itself through changing administrations, *is the one fixed point of maladministration, the unbreakable bank to which every corrupt politician may repair when in need of funds!* The corruption spreads until the *brothel,* the *saloon,* and the *gambling hall* are the *trio literally* at the base of the real administration of our cities. Certainly the harlot has been avenged upon the city which so despises her. The men who consider her a legitimate source of revenue in a thousand ways fleece the decent taxpayers who refuse to acknowledge her existence, and she abides through one administration after another to the confusion and frustration of all movements for civic reform. * * * * Women, kindly towards all other human creatures, become hard and hostile to young girls who, in evil houses, are literally beaten and starved by the dissolute men whom they support.

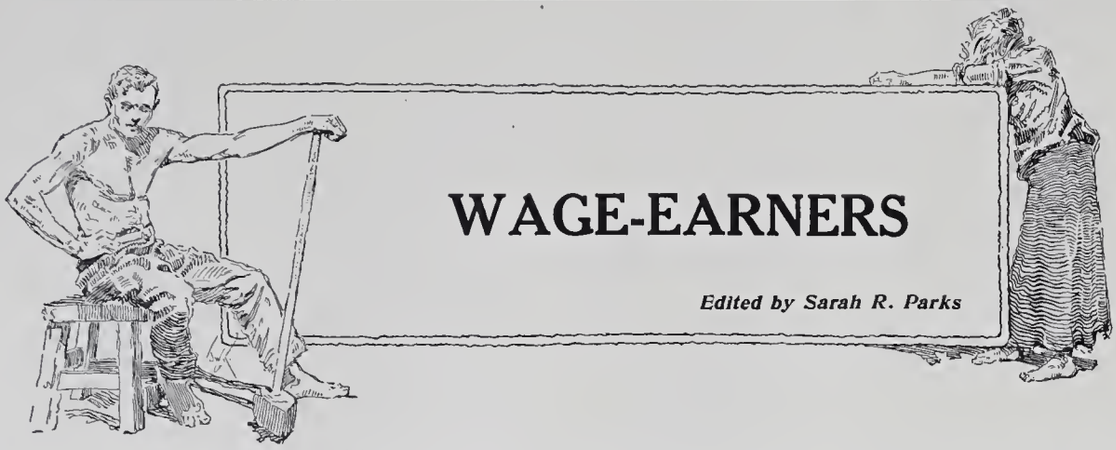
Kind-hearted women could not brook these things; their hearts would break had they not been trained to believe that virtue itself demanded from them first ignorance and then harshness. Their inherited fear of the harlot and terror lest she contaminate their daughters, may be traced in the caste basis of our social amenities and in the lack of democracy and fellowship which so fatally narrows woman's interests. Yet the test comes to them none the less, for as all women fell in the estimate of religious men because they came to be looked upon as possible harlots, so may we not predict that women will never take a moral place in the moral life of society until they recognize as one of themselves the very harlot, who all unwittingly has become the test of their spirituality, the touchstone of their purity.



M A N!

"I have been absolute monarch of the world since government began. I will not share my sovereignty."

Lou Rogers. Courtesy of Judge.



WAGE-EARNERS

Edited by Sarah R. Parks

Low wages, rendering impossible many comforts and nearly all the little luxuries almost more essential to adolescense than necessities; long hours of monotonous work at high speed, exhausting the body and stimulating to a feverish craving the natural desire for pleasure; crowded tenement homes where recreation is impossible; moving picture shows, dance-halls and parks, infested with prostitutes and cadets;—on the one hand we have all this, and on the other the moral fiber, ideals, and courage of girls in their teens.

Thousands of them, being entirely dependent upon themselves with wages from $5 to $7, are actually hungry; many are very lonesome, having come here alone at 16 or 17; many have others dependent upon them. So many young hearts, too, are aching with disappointment. Practically all of our young Russian-Jewish immigrants seem to have come with the definite expectation of graduating from Columbia University! And a large proportion of the New York born children who begin work at 14 or 16, are keenly eager to continue in school. Again, it is rather the rule than the exception for girls to be subject to temptation within the factory. Those who accept illicit advances from foremen or superintendents are often favored in steadiness of employment, distribution of work, etc., while in some cases a girl's insistence upon decency costs her her job. And behind all such temptations, in the background of deep shadows, lurks commercialized vice, the white slave traffic, on the eager lookout for young, attractive, new girls.

A dark picture, indeed—until you turn to the girls themselves. Warmhearted you will find them, quick to respond to interest and affection, eager for pleasure, attractive, lovable girls; girls whose moral fiber is astounding considering that their mothers had scant opportunity for development in girlhood, and little time since to train their daughters or to create a home atmosphere. The vast majority of working girls never think of resorting to the easy method of escaping from their difficulties. They endure hardship and deprivation, staunchly resenting insult; and they are learning to strike at the root of the problem by forming unions which increase wages and reduce hours, and prohibit immoral conditions within the factory. Union shops are very free from immorality because the girls there can protect themselves. In a shirtwaist factory recently, for instance, the union demanded the dismissal of the foreman. After three girls had reluctantly and blushingly testified before the joint board, the agent of the employers himself declared that he had heard enough, the man must go. Yet, unorganized, the girls had been, and would have continued to be, helpless against him.

In the struggle for unionism itself, the girls are beset by social dangers. Procurers dared attempt during the recent White Goods Strike to seduce the girls from their hall headquarters; and young girls guilty of very slight violence, or of no offense whatever while on picket duty, are still when sent to the workhouse, confined in cells with prostitutes. Bitter experiences, though practically all the girls pass through them untainted.

But we must not forget the misery of the girls who succumb. Small as is the proportion, the number runs into the thousands yearly in this city alone. Domestic service, with its endless hours, its isolation, its loss of social prestige, furnishes a specially large number of victims. So also do the department stores, where girls must dress stylishly on an average wage of $6 to $8, and are constantly in the presence of unattainable luxuries. It is pitiful to find numbers of girls who have yielded to the temptation to augment their wages by prostitution, still continuing to work at their trades. That is, even after their fall, they do tiresome, monotonous work 54 to 60 hours a week, earning the main portion of their income honestly, though they do not receive for whole week's work what two or three nights on the street would bring them. Other, often very poor girls, who after attending bad dances will "go out with a man for the night," refuse to take money. Starved for companionship, they accept the only available pleasures, yet still scorn to sell themselves for money. Almost inevitably such girls become professional prostitutes.

Once again we are glad to turn from the horrible to the brighter reality—to the growth of organization among our working girls. The victory of the Shirtwaist Makers has been crowned by that of the Kimona and Wrapper and the White Goods Workers. The 50,000 girls in these trades are now back at work with better hours and wages and a recognition of their unions. Surely all who are intelligently opposed to the white slave traffic will join in the rejoicing. To the men and women of the Men's Garment Makers Union, still on strike, we extend our continued admiration and sympathy.

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THE WOMAN IN THE CORNER

She was quite a nice-looking woman, and well dressed; not showily, but in clothes of good material. She sat in the corner of a second-class compartment of a suburban train, a train which arrived at Waterloo between seven o'clock and half-past, a train which brought many suburban residents to the London theatres. There were six other people in the compartment; a young man and woman, evidently husband and wife; two middle-aged women; a Member of Parliament, a man about fifty, in a tail coat and tall hat; and a clergyman of the Church of England. The husband and wife talked about plays, occasionally addressing a remark to the Member of Parliament, who answered somewhat perfunctorily; the middle-aged ladies discussed the latest enormity of the Suffragettes, in terms of reprobation; the clergyman and the woman in the corner sat silent. The clergyman read an evening paper; the woman listened to the scraps of conversation.

"You're not going to anything so frivolous as a theatre, I suppose?" said the wife, turning to the Member of Parliament. He had taken from his pocket-book a slip of paper on which were notes which he was studying with the aid of an eyeglass. "No," he said, "no, not a theatre." He shook his head solemnly. "Oh, no, my dear lady."

"The House, I suppose. Oh, no, of course it doesn't sit to-night."

"I am going, if you wish to know, to speak at a meeting—a public meeting, on the White Slave Traffic."

The young woman's face fell. "Oh, really!" Then, tentatively, "You think it—it really goes on?"

"Undoubtedly, to some extent—to some extent."

"Exaggerated, no doubt," said the young husband. "When women take up a subject like that—and women are taking a tremendous part——"

"The daughter of one of my parishioners disappeared a month ago," said the clergyman, "and we have failed to trace her."

"Perhaps—some girls are so giddy," suggested one of the middle-aged ladies.

"If those Suffragettes would devote themselves to rescue work——" said the other, and left the rest of the sentence to the imagination of the company.

"I have heard it said," remarked the husband, "that it's this White Slavery that's at the back of the Suffrage business."

"And so it is," said the woman in the corner.

It was the first time she had spoken, and everybody turned and looked at her. The lady next her edged a little away. "Are you, may I inquire," she said, in a tone of insolent politeness, "are you a Suffragette?"

"Oh, dear no. But I know something of the White Slave Traffic."

"Indeed?" said the Member of Parliament, looking from his corner, over his eyeglasses, to the corner where the woman sat. "You have made a study of the question?"

"A practical study—yes," she said.

"And you think——?"

"I should like to hear *your* views as to how it should be dealt with."

"Well—er—there is legislation—the Bill before the House; it is on that Bill that the meeting is to be to-night; and—er—with the flogging clauses, it ought to be—er—well, adequate."

"You think the Bill—with the flogging clauses, will put an end to it?" The woman half smiled; a curious smile. "Do you suppose the law, when it is passed, will be administered?"

"Of course, madam, of course. The laws of England are the best administered laws in the world."

"I daresay. But isn't there a law now against abducting girls under sixteen? Who pays any attention to it? No white slave trader that *I* have ever heard of."

"You are quite right, madam," said the clergyman. "Laws without religion are, comparatively speaking, useless. We must train our girls according to the teachings of St. Paul——"

"Just so——" murmured one of the ladies.

"—and our young men in the fear of the Lord."

"I should advise you," said the woman, "to start with the young men. It will take some time, judging from what you've done so far."

The clergyman looked at her with drawn brows. "Do you doubt the power of religion?" he asked.

"And rescue work," suggested one of the ladies.

The woman shrugged her shoulders. "Rescue work and religious teaching, you can lump 'em both together, and the white slave trader don't care that for them." She made the gesture of snapping her fingers with a well-gloved hand.

"Then may I ask," said the Member of Parliament, "since neither law, nor religion, nor rescue work can have any effect, may I ask what you, who profess to have studied the question, would recommend?"

"As to recommending," the woman answered quietly, "that's not my business; but if you want to know what's the only thing that's got a chance of stopping the traffic, I'll tell you. It's putting women on a level with men; putting them where men won't look upon them as animals to be used and played with; it's letting them have a chance to look after themselves; it's giving them the vote."

"But I thought"—the words came in a sort of chorus, "I thought you were against the suffrage?"

The train was slowing as it ran alongside the platform of Waterloo Station. The woman put her hand upon the handle of the door. "So I am," she said, "dead against it. I hate it and I fear it; because I know." The train had stopped, and she opened the door and stepped out on to the platform, then turned and spoke into the compartment. "I'm a procuress, and *I know.*"

G. Colmore.

Courtesy of *The Vote.*

"Not the prostitute, but the bridegroom should present a health certificate."

Dr. Prince Morrow.

Eight months ago an officer in a certain reputable society told a suffragist she shouldn't allow herself to be misled by sensational representations on the subject of the Social Evil. "System," he exclaimed, "there is no system, that is all talk!" Intelligent New Yorker, will you take your newspaper files for the last eight months and see if you get any inkling of system. We suggest you substitute for "gunman" the more accurate term, pander or cadet—for "gambling house"—brothel, and remember that "graft money" for the most part means the bodies and souls of women coined, then try to see the connection between the system and the white slave traffic, and the connection between the white slave traffic and city government, and the connection between city government and Votes for Women.

How many people who talk about race suicide know the relation of venereal diseases to the birth rate?

A single moral standard!

Full and complete knowledge for the children.

THROUGHOUT THE STATE

EDITED BY

HARRIET M. MILLS

OFFICERS OF THE NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

1912-1913.

President, Harriet May Mills, 926 West Genesee Street, Syracuse.

Vice-President at large, Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, 31 West 12th Street, New York.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Nicolas Shaw Fraser, Geneseo.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Joseph Gavit, 802 Myrtle Avenue, Albany.

Treasurer, Mrs. Maude Ingersoll Probosco, 117 East 21st Street, New York.

Auditors,

Fanny Garrison Villard, 540 Park Ave., New York.

Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey, 742 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo.

CHAIRMEN OF STANDING COMMITTEES.

School Suffrage, Miss Celia McNett, Bath.

Tax Suffrage, Mrs. Lucy H. Calkins, 310 S. Albany Street, Ithaca.

Church Work, Mrs. Harry Hastings, 7 East 87th Street, New York.

County Fairs, Mrs. Roxana Burrows, Andover.

State Fair, Miss Isabel Howland, Sherwood.

Grange Work, Mrs. Ella H. Crossett, Warsaw.

Assembly District Organization, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, 144 Park Avenue, Yonkers.

Resolutions, Mrs. Helen Brewster Owen, Ithaca.

Railroad Rates, Mrs. Annie Merritt, 405 Tompkins Avenue, Brooklyn.

ANTHONY DAY, FEBRUARY 15th.

The celebration of the birthdays of Susan B. Anthony and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw on February the 15th at the Hotel Astor was a memorable occasion. The big ball room was crowded with a brilliant assemblage including many prominent men and women. Friends from California, Texas, Illinois, Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey and other states were present. Of our own members Mrs. Rumsey came from Buffalo, Mrs. Burrows from Allegany County, Miss Sworts from Yates County, with delegations from Westchester and Kings. On the platform at one end of the long room, Mrs. Henry White Cannon, our chairman, had arranged palms and flowers; above, hung our nine-starred flag. In one corner was the portrait bust of Miss Anthony—the work of Mrs. Adelaide Johnson. While the music played "The Evening Star" Mrs. Johnson unveiled the marble, the audience standing during the ceremony.

Inspiring addresses were made by Mrs. Harper, Mrs. Villard, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Shaw. Generous pledges were made to the campaign fund. Every one pronounced the gathering one worthy of the day. While the refreshments were being served a birthday cake bearing the motto "Votes for Women" was brought in and cut by Mrs. Cannon.

The memory of our great leader should be an added inspiration in this hour of our approaching victory. "To win in 1915" should be our thought night and day and the thought should be put into checks and work.

We thank every friend and every club that joined in the birthday.

TREASURER'S REPORT OF THE BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION.

A report of the receipts of the Birthday Party shows:

In pledges	$1,821.00
Tickets sold	200.50
Collection	36.45
Total	$2,057.95

Among the clubs subscribing in response to the appeal were the Bath, Batavia, Collins Center, Canisteo, Clifton Springs, Delhi, Ithaca, Lincoln, Pearl River, Pavilion, Rochester, Wyoming and Lawton's Clubs; the New Rochelle Equal Franchise League, the New York Equal Suffrage League, the Woman Suffrage Study Club and the 23rd Assembly District Club of New York City.

We are especially grateful to the Locust Farms Dairy Co., to Charles P. Rogers & Co., of 12 East 33rd Street, New York, and to the Shredded Wheat Co., of Niagara Falls, for generous subscriptions.

EMMA Y. IVINS,
Treasurer of Committee.

FUNDS.

We need funds for the campaign work. Ten thousand dollars is needed this year for our campaign in the state.

Our good friend, Mr. Frederick R. Hazard, has promised $500 if we can raise $5,500 more. Who will help us complete this amount, more than two-thirds of which is already secured? This is everybody's campaign. Send us any sum you can from $1 to $100

or more. Remember the urgency and give **now!** Then, when we win in 1915, you will rejoice that you were able to be an active participant in this great battle for liberty. Send all contributions to the Treasurer of the N. Y. State Woman Suffrage Association, 180 Madison Avenue, New York.

HEADQUARTERS.

Who thinks having headquarters in New York divorces us from the up-state members?

At 180 Madison Avenue during February we have received representative members of the association from fifteen different counties. Is there any other city in the state except New York, where suffragists from 15 counties would come during one month? Obviously not. Of those who called, two were state chairmen on their way south who stopped in New York en route. Others were here on business or pleasure bent. The metropolis is the centre to which many gravitate.

We have laid more definite plans for summer work in the past few weeks through conferences with up-state women than we could have formulated by many letters.

COME AND LEARN TO SPEAK.

There were 50 present at Mrs. Andrews' last Thursday evening class. The interest continues to grow and new speakers are being developed for the summer work. Mrs. Andrews is continuing her classes at Yonkers and New Rochelle each week.

THE SPRING PARADE.

May the 3rd has been set for the spring parade in which all the suffrage societies will unite.

The chairman of the parade committee is Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch. The National will come first, then the Women's Political Union and third the State Association. Last year we had several hundred in line. This year let us double the number. Begin to make your plans now to come to New York for the parade.

It is probable that a conference of state workers on Assembly District organization will be called on May the 2nd. We hope every county will send a representative who can come for May the 2nd and 3rd. It will be a great opportunity to catch new enthusiasm and to learn new methods. Send names of any who can join the parade to 180 Madison Avenue, New York.

PRESS WORK UP-STATE.

Do all our members know that Mrs. Anna C. Etz, of Hornell is doing splendid press work, sending her copy weekly to more than 80 newspapers in the state? Here is a chance to help spread our cause by cooperating with Mrs. Etz. Let every club president appoint a press chairman and let that chairman see all the editors in her town, securing, if possible, their consent to take Mrs. Etz's copy. Then write to Mrs. Etz and give her the names of the papers.

Miss Sara J. Russel, a Cornell graduate, has accepted the position of press chairman for the state. She will cooperate with Mrs. Etz and will endeavor to secure assistants in every county who will push this most important department of our work. Write to her at Headquarters.

Mrs. Owens writes that the **Ithaca** papers have experienced a change as sudden and pleasing as that manifested by some of the political leaders. They will all print weekly items on suffrage progress, now.

Mrs. Meyer has arranged with the editor to make the Rome **Sentinel** the organ of the 3rd Assembly District, of which she is the leader. More leaders might follow up such a plan in their own localities.

GRANGE LUNCHEON.

The work in the Grange is progressing well under the direction of its able chairman, Mrs. Ella H. Crossett. When the State Grange held its annual convention in Buffalo early in February, Mrs. Crossett arranged to have a luncheon given at the suffrage headquarters to all the Grange women. Mrs. James S. Ladd of the Buffalo club, assisted by the executive committee, was in charge of the luncheon. Mrs. Crossett and several of the delegates made brief addresses.

Many Grange chairmen in different counties have already been secured on Mrs. Crossett's committee.

MEETINGS.

Many unusual meetings have been held during the past month. Mrs. Stubbs addressed the Fortnightly Woman's Club of **Rockville Centre.** She is also speaking at **Gloversville** and **Saratoga** this week.

Rabbi Goldenson of Albany addressed a packed house at **Cobbleskill** early in February.

Mrs. Gavit has been most active. She was the first woman to speak before the Ministerial Association of **Albany,** where she found many sympathizers. Her efforts spurred the anti-suffragists to ask for a hearing before the ministers which they had on the 15th.

Mrs. Gavit held a wonderful meeting with the Daughters of the Revolution at **Slingerlands.** In **Albany** she has spoken before the Women's Alliance of the Unitarian Church.

Miss Mills and Mrs. Suffren spoke at **Pearl River** under the auspices of the club in a large hall.

Miss Pope and Mrs. Lustgarten, the local committee, report many new members since the meeting. Miss Mills has also addressed the women principals of **Brooklyn,** and spoken at several neighborhood meetings in New York.

Mrs. Osterheld has been keeping Westchester towns lively speaking at **Peekskill, Tarrytown** and **Valhalla.**

Mrs. Burrows has spoken at **Hornell.** She is now a most welcome guest at headquarters for a few weeks.

REPUBLICAN LUNCHEON.

The big Republican Club with a beautiful club house facing the library park is a place of cherished traditions. One has hitherto excluded women from all participation in its meetings. This year a series of Saturday luncheons followed by discussion of topics of current interest was installed. When it was decided to include woman suffrage in the program, a majority voted in favor of women speakers. Thus it came about that Mrs. Raymond Brown and Miss Harriet May Mills debated with Mrs. Scott and Miss Chittenden in the banquet hall of the club. Members were permitted to bring their wives to the luncheon so a number of women were present.

Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont and Mrs. Ida Husted Harper were guests of honor at the speakers' table. The debate was amicable but the opposition was as absurd as usual. Mrs. Scott assured the audience in a long and wordy paper that woman suffrage was dangerous. "It's sire," she said, "was anarchy; its dam was revolution and its progeny will be chaos!"

Such wild statements can scarcely be called arguments. Mrs. Brown read a fine address and was followed by Miss Chittenden, who told us that government rested on force. Each speaker was allowed 45 minutes. The affirmative reserved part of its time for rebuttal. Miss Mills answered by giving **facts** about the enfranchised states. The chairman of the day who was an anti-suffragist announced that Miss Chittenden was wearing the colors just adopted by her society, black, white and American beauty. We see more propriety in the black than in either of the other colors! Why should people who do not believe in American democracy wear an American beauty rose? Some oriental flower would be more expressive of their ideas.

Hereafter the **Voter and Newsletter** will have a department for Assembly District work each month which will be conducted by Mrs. Arthur F. Livermore, state

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PLAN OF ORGANIZATION OF NEW YORK STATE BY ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS.

The object for which every suffragist must work is the submission of a Woman Suffrage amendment to the voters of the State and the subsequent adoption of such amendment.

To this end we plan, first to organize the whole State by Assembly Districts, so that each Assembly District may bring pressure to bear on its representatives to secure the passage of our bill through two successive legislatures; second, to subdivide each Assembly District into its component Election Districts so that pressure may be brought to bear on the individual voters to declare for Woman Suffrage at the polls in their respective Election Districts.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS.

The boundaries of every Assembly District are printed in the "Legislative Manual." The officers of an Assembly District shall be a Leader, a Secretary, and Treasurer. These officers are at first appointed. They should enroll, without dues, all believers in Woman Suffrage. When 300 enrolled believers have been secured in any Assembly District, call a Convention of the suffragists of that District and elect the Assembly District officers for one year. This Assembly District, having 300 enrolled members, may then be admitted to the New York State Woman Suffrage Association on payment of $5, and be entitled to one delegate at the State Convention. This makes it possible to have one homogeneous State-wide suffrage organization on recognized political lines.

The Leader of the Assembly District is responsible for the suffrage activities of her district. She should: (1) Ascertain the number and boundaries of the Election Districts which compose her Assembly District. (2) Appoint a Captain for each Election District, who, by virtue of her office, shall be a member of the Assembly District Committee. (3) Call a Convention of any Election District when 50 suffragists have been enrolled in that Election District, and elect a Captain, Secretary and Treasurer of that Election District for one year.

ELECTION DISTRICTS.

The smallest political district is the Election District (or precinct), comprising from 400 to 600 voters. Its boundaries and official list of voters may be obtained from the County Clerk. The officers of an Election District shall be a Captain, a Secretary and Treasurer. The duty of an Election District Captain shall be: (1) To educate the district for Woman Suffrage, so that when the referendum occurs, the Election District will be carried for Woman Suffrage. (2) To make the Suffrage question a live issue in the district by various means of propaganda. (3) To canvass systematically, so that every section of the district is covered. (4) To enroll all believers, without dues, securing signatures of both men and women. (5) To arouse the indifferent by holding meetings, securing hearings, and distributing literature.

Get down to the source of political power, the individual voter.

HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE,
State Chairman of Assembly
District Organization.
144 Park Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT WORK IN THE STATE.

The last week of January, I went to Buffalo in the interest of Assembly District work. Monday afternoon, January 27, I spoke before the Garret Club, a group of young, alert women who have a charming club house. Monday evening, Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey opened her marble music room for a talk on the Basis of Equal Suffrage. Over 300 invitations were issued and more than half accepted. Although many anti-suffragists were present, the utmost good fellowship and interest prevailed.

Tuesday, January 28, Miss Winifred Smith entertained at her home all the College Associations of Buffalo, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and the Alumnae Clubs of the different Colleges. "Women and Education" was the subject on which I spoke. At the close of the meeting, it was voted to form a College Equal Suffrage League and a committee was appointed for that purpose.

The evening was spent at a meeting in Niagara Falls, where an impetus to Assembly District work in Niagara County was given.

Wednesday, January 29, a meeting at the Buffalo Headquarters was called for 3 P. M. and all suffrage clubs and heads of districts were invited. The afternoon was spent in explaining Assembly District work, answering questions, discussing practical problems and in making various suggestions for forwarding the work, both financial and executive. It was a good meeting. Mrs. Shuler, being the member of the State committee to represent the 8th Judicial District, had already done the hard preliminary work and Erie County with its 9 Assembly Districts has a fine start in political organization.

Wednesday evening, January 29, a public meeting was held in the hall of the Twentieth Century Club, Buffalo. The hall was three-quarters filled. I spoke on "Woman's Sphere." A large number of prominent men and women sat on the platform. Mrs. Eli Hosmer presided. At the close of the meeting, Mr. Frederic Almy proposed a resolution that a Men's League for Equal Suffrage be formed in Buffalo. This resolution was carried. Mrs. Hosmer appointed the following committee to form such an organization: Frederic Almy, chairman; George Chisholm, Chauncey Hamlin, George Kennedy, Edward Letchworth, John Olmsted and Parton Swift.

The success of the meeting was due in large measure to the executive ability of Mrs. Porter Norton. We were honored in having on the platform Mrs. George Howard Lewis, well known in Buffalo and throughout the State as a staunch supporter of the cause.

Thursday, January 30, a meeting was held in **Holley** at the home of Mrs. Ross. The task of organizing Orleans County on Assembly District lines was fully discussed, and judging by the firm convictions of this group of women, the work will be begun with fervor as soon as the weather is propitious for traveling about the country.

Friday, January 31, an afternoon meeting was held at the headquarters of the **Rochester** Club. Prominent suffragists from all the surrounding counties and different club leaders were present. We got right down to business, and discussed how to organize and carry these cities and counties for suffrage. Monroe County with its 5 Assembly Districts is in the capable hands of Mrs. Clement, the president of the Rochester Club. This was an inspiring meeting and I went away confident that those many eager, capable workers could be safely trusted to win their localities.

Friday evening a meeting was held in **Geneva**, Ontario County, under the auspices of the Political Equality Club of Geneva of which Mrs. Alfred Lewis is president. Here again, I met the same zeal and earnestness for the work, the same alertness, the same desire to be told **just what to do.** I came home tremendously inspired by the whole trip. Up-State can be relied upon! They will not fail!

The State has two problems, executive and financial. The first I have tried to meet in the leaflet in simplest terms on Assembly District organization. There can be no doubt that this is the final form in which we **will be put to the test**, and **must win.**

The second problem is financial and that I hope to have the privilege of discussing later. Meantime, any new ideas will be welcome.

HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE,
State Chairman Assembly District Organization.

NEW LITERATURE.

Mrs. Laura G. Collins of **Hornell,** who is always evolving some new and practical plan to help the suffrage work, has issued some attractive new leaflets at a surprisingly cheap price of which she writes as follows:

"My pet hobby has always been a rapid, continuous fire of suffrage arguments both to believers and opponents, but at the rate of one dollar per thousand and expressage for literature I could see our finish financially. The only thing to do was to print our own stuff, so taking my boys, who have always claimed to be good suffragists, at their word, we bought the type, arranged with the socialist paper to use their press and started in.

These leafllets cost us about 17 cents per thousand; pretty good, don't you say?"

So far as we know no one has heretofore succeeded in getting out leaflets at any such price as 17 cents per thousand. Write Mrs. Laura G. Collins and ask her how to do it, or see if she cannot supply you with some good literature. The sample sent is headed "Women are Citizens and they should do their Civic Duty."

NEW CLUBS.

FULTON CO. Organized by Mrs. Gavit.
Gloversville. Miss Lou Young, president; Dr. Maria Hopkins, first vice-president; Mrs. Cora Hogan, second vice-president; Elizabeth Fosmire, secretary; Mrs. E. A. Frye, treasurer.

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Elm Valley. Mrs. Wright, president.

ORANGE CO.
Goshen. Mrs. Percy Gott, president.

ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE.

On March 28th, the State Association will have a **Kaffee-Klatsch** at Headquarters, 180 Madison Avenue. During the day, fresh eggs and butter, homemade cakes, jellies, candy and other good things will be on sale, and there will be high tea from 4 to 6 o'clock. Arrangements will be made for serving dinner to those who wish to stay for an informal dance in the evening.

Everybody is welcome. Mrs. Louis H. Olzendam of 204 West 92nd Street, is chairman of the committee in charge, and contributions may be sent to her or to Mrs. Emma Kip Edwards, 695 St. Nicholas Avenue. Come and bring your friends.

CLUB NEWS.

From many counties come reports of large meetings and increased membership. We wish we had space to give more details of all the splendid work that is being done up-state.

BATH. Miss Celia McNett, president of Steuben County, stopped at State Headquarters on her way to Florida, where she expects to remain until April. Miss McNett announced that the club at Bath gave a card party last week which was very successful. These card parties are to be given every week hereafter for the purpose of raising money for the campaign fund.

Mrs. Topliff reports that Mrs. Snowden's lecture in BINGHAMTON made a profound impression and changed the attitude of many who had previously counted themselves on the opposing side.

BUFFALO is rapidly making converts. A men's league has been formed there as a result of Mrs. Livermore's visit.

We wish Rozan's ward could be enlightened and shown the disgrace of sending such a man to the Legislature.

DELHI is having lively meetings and is planning an entertainment in March for the benefit of the campaign fund.

GENESEO. Mrs. Clement, president of the Rochester club, gave a most helpful address recently on club work before the Geneseo association.

HUNTINGTON. Mrs. Sammis reports that Huntington had an enthusiastic meeting recently and the club decided to take up the study of American Politics.

The **Junius** Political Equality Club held its sixth annual banquet at the home of Mrs. Dora Scribner, January 21st, covers having been laid for 100.

An interesting program was given and all had a good time.

The annual election of officers of the **Junius** Club took place on Tuesday, February 18th.

NEWBURGH. The **Newburgh** Study Club had a splendid meeting at Headquarters recently with 28 present. Two new members joined and there was great enthusiasm.

The first civic act of the club was to send a delegation of eleven women to a meeting at the City Hall, called to discuss a new charter. The club members presented a resolution asking for a provision granting school suffrage to the women of Newburgh. There were fifty men present. Several other societies sent representatives but the suffrage association had the largest delegation. Their resolution asked that the election of school officers should be held separately and be so conducted as to include the casting and counting of women's votes. Mayor Corwin promised that this proposition should receive "earnest consideration" by the revision committee.

The **Kings County Woman Suffrage Association** and its auxiliary clubs are having meetings and keeping woman suffrage before the Brooklyn people continually.

Under the auspices of the County a Voiceless Speech was given Saturday afternoon, January 18th, from two to five o'clock on one of the most prominent corners in the shopping district. The Sterling Piano Co. kindly loaned a window and eight women displayed the cards during the afternoon. At no time were there less than fifty people looking on and at times the crowd numbered over a hundred. The interest manifested by the onlookers was very satisfactory and all the Brooklyn newspapers devoted considerable space to the affair.

The **People's Political Equality League** met at the home of the president, Mrs. R. C. Talbot-Perkins, and received nine new members. It also arranged to address several men's organizations later.

The **11th Assembly District Club,** of which Dr. Charlotte H. Woolley is president, met at the Home for the Blind and had twelve objections to woman suffrage answered by twelve of its members. The meeting was extremely interesting and several new members were gained.

During the month Mrs. Anna C. Field, who with Henry Ward Beecher founded the first woman suffrage club in Brooklyn, passed away in her eighty-third year. This club was formed in 1869. The Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Mary H. Loines is now the president, is its successor.

The **Flatbush** Political Equality League held a meeting January 21st in connection with the New Thought Center of Brooklyn. The rooms were crowded, and Mrs. L. A. Mason acted as chairman. Mrs. Elizabeth Osborn, the president of the Flatbush League, introduced Mrs. R. C. Talbot-Perkins as the suffrage speaker and Mrs. Mary Chapin spoke for the New Thought platform. Great interest was manifested in both addresses and while tea was served several names were handed in for membership.

The County Association has written letters to every school principal in Brooklyn asking that women speakers be heard at the graduating exercises to be held in February. About ten have responded favorably. Letters are now being written to every lodge in Brooklyn asking for a chance to present the suffrage question to their members.

Early Spring Offer

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imparts to the nails a delicate, shell-like pink. Lightly applied with a camel's hair-brush, it remains on the nails for several days. **Price, 50 Cents**

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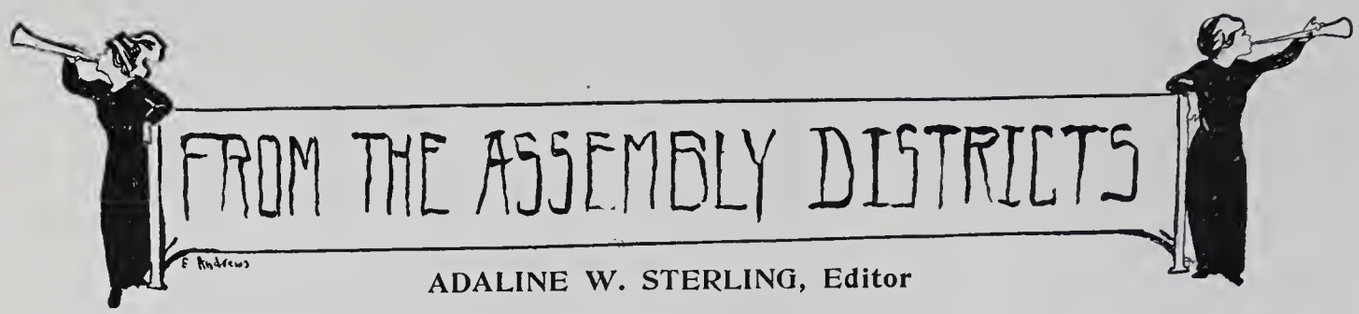

ADALINE W. STERLING, Editor

Material for this department must reach the office by the 18th of each month. Calendar closes on the 20th.

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MANHATTAN.

2nd Assembly District.

Since last month's report the following groups and organizations have given welcome hearing to speakers from the Woman Suffrage Party: The East Side Athletic Club, John Walsh, president, of 10 Catherine Street; the Young Women's Club, of Hamilton House, Miss Worthington, head worker; and the Society to Aid the Blind on the Island. At this last meeting the speaker was Mrs. Ida Harris, a captain of the Assembly District. By request a suffrage talk was also given by Mrs. Morgan before the Women's Clubs at the Jacob Riis Neighborhood House. The test census of an election district composed of a solidly Jewish and educated electorate has been completed. The list comprised 440 names, of which 132 were marked as "moved," "out," or "unknown." Of the remaining voters, 75 signed a pledge to vote for the amendment when presented; 60 declared their belief in woman suffrage and would vote for it but were unwilling to sign anything, 52 were enlisted as indifferent, 37 as having given the subject no thought, and 84 were opposed. Literature was distributed but no attempt made to alter opinions on the first test. A similar census is to be made in Italian and Irish-American election districts. Street propaganda by means of suffrage maps and banners of the national colors of the various races and with slogans in the respective tongues is being continued with excellent effect.

This district united with the 8th Assembly District in three mass meetings at New Henry Hall, 49 Henry Street. On February 16th the speakers were Mr. Joshua Sprayregen, Mrs. Lottie Levine and Mrs. Ida Harris. At the second meeting on the 18th Mrs. Sophia Kremer and Miss Dock were scheduled to speak, and Mr. Raimondo Canudo was speaker on the 23d.

Mrs. Ida Harris, of 77 Madison Street, is an active and devoted captain in the 2nd A. D., Manhattan. She speaks fluently Russian, Polish, Slavish (a mixture of the two) and Yiddish, and will be glad to speak for suffrage in these tongues as often as her family duties allow. If outside her district her expenses must be paid.

4th Assembly District.

On January 27, at a large and enthusiastic meeting of the men and women members of the Davidson Circle at 307 Henry Street, Miss Dock gave an account of the Albany Pilgrimage and made a stirring address on the Campaign of 1915.

8th Assembly District.

By invitation, Mrs. A. C. Fiske spoke on suffrage on February 11th at the Church of the Land and Sea, Henry and Market Streets, before the women's clubs of the parish. With assistance from headquarters Mrs. Gittes, leader of the district, is planning a suffrage play to be given by the Girls' Clubs of the College Settlement.

Among the speakers at the joint meetings of the 2nd and 8th Assembly Districts were Joshua Sprayregen, candidate for Assembly from the former district at the last election and Meyer London, who ran for Congress, 12th District on the Socialist Party ticket. Speeches were made in both English and Yiddish which appealed to the large number of working girls resident in the District. Enrollments are increasing rapidly, fifty names having been added to the list in the last month.

12th Assembly District.

At the monthly business meeting of this district on January 31st a fitting tribute was paid to the memory of Mrs. Camilla Barker. By gift of the district and its friends, one of the traveling libraries which the Equal Franchise League is sending throughout the state was dedicated to the memory of Mrs. Barker who was the organizer of suffrage work in the 12th Assembly District.

A "Hikers" meeting was held February 4th at the Friends' meeting house, Stuyvesant Square. Interesting accounts of the "hike" to Albany were given by Miss Ida Craft, Miss Lavinia Dock and Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs. A recruiting station was established for the evening for volunteers for the Washington pilgrimage and several names were handed in. Doubtless from interest in Miss Dock and her work, six hospitals were represented at this meeting. A pleasant incident was a donation of $25 for the cause from the nurses of the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary.

The first of a series of Labor Teas to be given by different members of the district took place on February 13th at the home of Mrs. Rudolph Schirmer, 243 East 17th Street. Miss Chamberlin spoke on the topic. "Child Work in the Canneries." The second tea was held on Thursday, February 27th at the residence of Mrs. Alexander Morton, Gramercy Park, at which Dr. Annie Daniels spoke from thorough experience on "Child Work in the Tenements."

19th Assembly District.

As the month of February is short and the report to the **Voter** is required by the 18th, the record must necessarily be one of things past and things which will be past when the magazine comes out. The regular work of the district has gone on during the month, captains are busy in their respective districts engaged in canvassing and in verifying past enrollments. Since December the district reports eighty-four new names added to the enrollment list, of which thirty-six are voters who will later show their belief in the cause. The Executive Board has held its regular meeting and has adopted a plan of strenuous work for the coming month.

On February 8th the district held a public meeting by courtesy of the president and officers at the Claremont Progressive Club, 550 West 113th Street. The meeting was very well attended and an interesting program of speaking was provided. The general topic was "View Points on Suffrage," and the speakers were Miss Elena M. Barrell, Mrs. Raymond Brown, president of the Suffrage Study Club and Mrs. Anna Ross Weeks, Leader of the 27th Assembly District.

On February 10th the members of the district were guests of the 19th Assembly District Republican Club at its "Ladies' Night" at the Hotel Marseilles, at which meeting the leader, Miss Sterling, was one of the ten minute speakers. The meeting of the Woman Suffrage Club of the district at the residence of Mrs. Carl Whitney will complete the record of meetings of the month. Two social events to which the members of the district received cordial invitations were the monthly reception and entertainment of the Claremont Progressive Club on February 21st at its club house, 550 West 113th Street, and the annual entertainment and ball of the Republican Club of the 19th Assembly District at the Amsterdam Opera House, on West 44th Street, February 26th. At both of these functions the Suffrage Party of the district was well represented.

21st Assembly District.

The first regular meeting of the district after the January election took place on February 4th at the residence of the leader, Mrs. Gardner Hirons, 131 West 136th Street. Mrs. Hirons made a short address outlining proposed work of the district. Much interest was expressed by the members in the colored population of the district, and in consequence on Lincoln's Birthday, a meeting was held at Mrs. Hirons' home and a club organized among the leading colored women of the district. The name of the club is yet to be decided but the officers chosen are Mrs. Sims, president; Mrs. Dawson, vice-president; Miss Holmes, secretary, and Mrs. Wiggins, treasurer. A Suffrage Tea was held at the residence of the leader on February 15th from three to five o'clock. A large euchre party is planned as a coming entertainment for pleasure, and profit to the district treasury.

23rd Assembly District.

Things have been moving in this district for the past month. On January 25th, too late for notice in the February **Voter,** Mrs. Waters of this district spoke in Beethoven Hall before an audience of one thousand members of the Garment Cutters' Union. Her address was so forcible that a resolution was unanimously carried to vote for the amendment in 1915.

On February 5th a joint meeting was held of the public demonstration and entertainment committees of the district at the residence of Mrs. Ogan, 513 West 144th Street. At this time a ways and means committee was elected consisting of Mrs. Ogan, chairman, Dr. May Wilson, Mrs. O'Sullivan and Miss E. Wilson. An entertainment on generous scale is in contemplation.

The speaking class met on February 11th at the studio of Miss Annie Peake, 517 West 127th Street. Mrs. Granville F. Munson and Mrs. Ogan assisted in coaching the coming orators.

Mrs. Lloyd Hepburn had charge of a dramatic entertainment given at the Republican Club, Amsterdam Avenue and 160th Street on Friday evening, February 14th. Miss Olinda Drescher's dramatic club comprising Miss O'Connor, Miss Rita Cassidy, Miss Drew, Miss Edith Drescher, Miss Mona O'Sullivan and Mr. Smith gave a clever one-act play. Other features were music and impersonations. Dancing followed the program.

A public meeting at Tammany headquarters, 145th Street, on February 20th and a second meeting of the speaking class on February 25th at the home of Mrs. O'Sullivan, completed the activities of the month.

25th Assembly District.

On February 3rd a tea was given at the home of Mrs. H. B. Griffiths. Mrs. Helen Hoy-Greeley, the speaker, suggested that instead of entertaining people at teas, we obtain a list of voters in the district from 96 Reed Street, and send them the rainbow flyers on suffrage. As 500,000 voters must be pledged by 1915, those present agreed that the suggestion should be followed.

Judging by the crowding of Cooper Union and still more by the crowds that couldn't get in on February 6th the "Everybody Welcome" at the bottom of our programs must have been taken literally indeed. The particular theme for the evening was "The Relationship of Man to Woman Suffrage" and the first speaker was the much beloved retiring leader of the 25th Assembly District, Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe. Tradition has it that the first speaker's task is most difficult, but Mrs. Howe seemed to find it easy for as if by magic the audience responded to her clever, gentle, comprehensive account of "Man's Progress." She thanked the brave, kind, inventive men for bringing to pass the industrial revolution in order to free women from drudgery.

Mr. Charles Zueblin followed with "From Masculinity to Manhood." He graphically pictured the ascent of man. One of the most trenchant thoughts of his inspired speech was his paraphrase of the seven ages of man. "The first stage, savagery, which was symbolized by the club, then barbarism with an axe, and chivalry with the lance; fourth civilization with the tool, then capitalism with the dollar, humanitarianism with the pen and democracy with the ballot. Each one of these periods marked a stage in the development of man, wherein there was demanded of him in turn strength, valor, skill, science, shrewdness, wit, faith. During these periods woman was to him female, amazon, lady, helpmate, consumer, inspiration, comrade."

Miss Fola La Follette, stirred by her recent splendid activities in the Garment Workers' Strike, spoke feelingly on the subject of "Man's Rights" and said conclusively, "We suffragists have been thinking much more about human rights than about either woman's or man's rights. An anti made me realize that we have been making a mistake: man is not

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the sturdy self-reliant creature we have thought him. He and his rights must be protected. My anti suffragist friend thinks that to protect man's rights we must withhold the ballot from woman. I feel that to protect man's rights we must give the ballot to women."

Mr. Max Eastmann, the gifted editor of **The Masses** took as his variation of the main theme the subject of "Man and the Family." In characteristically happy style Mr. Eastman varied scintillating home thrusts with impassioned appeal.

Miss Elisabeth Freeman in a few well chosen words inspired the audience to contribute towards the sinews of war which was done in a heartily responsive manner indicating beyond all doubt an appreciation of a highly successful evening's meeting.

On February 20th, a reception was given at the home of Mrs. Henry Salem Hubbell. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw and Mr. Robert Bruere were the speakers. A large number of new enrollments were taken.

On February 21st, a benefit mass meeting was held in the Berkeley Theatre for the White Goods Workers to raise money for the 6,000 and more girls who have been out on strike for five weeks. Miss Fola La Follette was the presiding officer. The following speakers were heard: Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Hon. George E. Ellis, Mayor of Grand Rapids; Miss Maude Younger, Miss Gertrude Barnum and four young girls who have been arrested for picket duty.

BROOKLYN.

1st Assembly District.

The principal meeting of the month in this district was held on Saturday evening, February 15th, at the Academy of Music under the chairmanship of Mrs. Charles Merritt Field. The speaker was Mrs. Philip Snowden, of London, who represents the non-militant branch of the English suffragists. Her topic was "The Present Suffrage Situation in Great Britain." Logically and fairly and with charm of diction Mrs. Snowden described to a large and attentive audience the growth of the suffrage movement in England, and spoke emphatically against the methods of the militant wing of the party. A small group of militancy believers came across the bridge for the express purpose of heckling the speaker, but Mrs. Snowden met questions and remarks with dignified replies which carried conviction to the audience. The committee in charge of the meeting had only ten days' time in which to arrange the affair, but the tireless workers of the district advertised the event with such energy that an audience of eighteen hundred filled the building. No admission was asked, but the collection taken netted $300 for the cause.

9th Assembly District.

The officers of the 9th Assembly District met on February 6th at the home of the leader, Mrs. Charles G. Stevenson, 1316 85th Street, to discuss ways and means of reaching the voters throughout the district. As a result of the conference it was decided to hold a series of meetings in the several election districts, beginning with a gathering at the residence of Mrs. C. Ericson, 948 Seventh Avenue, which is in the 31st Election District. Mrs. Stevenson is arranging a second meeting in the 37th Election District which will probably be held in the Dyker Heights Country Clubhouse. Other meetings will follow in Fort Hamilton, Bay Ridge and South Brooklyn, and before May 1st a large mass meeting will be held in the Exempt Firemen's Hall, 69th Street and Third Avenue.

10th Assembly District.

The Brotherhood of the Hanson Place Methodist Episcopal Church very graciously offered the church to the District Branch of the Woman Suffrage Party on February 3rd. Although it was the worst night of the winter, there was an audience of about 800 to hear the able address by Rabbi Wise on "The Religious and Moral Aspects of the Woman's Movement." It was a wonderful meeting. On February 4th, Miss Olive M. Jones, principal of the only public school for delinquents in New York City, addressed the District Club. There were several physicians as well as principals of schools in the audience. The mothers of the club asked many questions and in consequence of this meeting they will take a greater interest in having a similar school in Brooklyn at the earliest possible time.

On February 13th, Miss Harriet May Mills and Fola La Follette addressed an audience of assistant principals and their guests at Grand Hall, 487 Washington Avenue. There were about 300 present. Two hundred and fifty-seven enrollments have been secured during the month.

12th Assembly District.

The club of the 12th Assembly District held a meeting on February 3rd at which several enrollments were taken for the Party and four names added to the club membership. Plans were made for a public meeting later at the Logan Club, and for a meeting in March at the Berkeley Institute.

13th Assembly District.

A meeting of the Woman's Suffrage Party of this district was held on Thursday, February 13th, at the School Settlement, 148 Jackson Street. The meeting was called to order by the leader, and the following officers were elected: Miss Minna Pranse, secretary and Mrs. Helena Maloney, treasurer. It was decided to hold regular meetings on the 2nd and 4th Mondays of each month. The dues were to be 5 cents at each meeting. Notices were read of the two big meetings, one at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn, and the other at Carnegie Hall, New York. All were urged to attend at least one of these. Several new members were enrolled. As many of the members were not acquainted with each other, a social evening followed the business meeting, and it is hoped that all became friendly in the merry attempt to fête the good St. Valentine.

15th Assembly District.

The club of this district is studying law under the direction of Mr. Herrick. At the meeting on February 13th at the home of Mrs. Byrnes, 81 Norman Avenue, Mr. Herrick gave a talk on "Citizenship." A social hour followed the lecture.

16th Assembly District.

The 16th Assembly District Club of the Woman Suffrage Party gave an entertainment at St. Brendan's Auditorium, Avenue O and East 13th Street, on Thursday evening, February 13th. The program consisted of music and speaking. The artists were Miss Hazel Young, violinist, Miss Fitzmaurice, soprano, and Mrs. M. S. Conley, pianist. Their acceptable numbers interspersed forcible speeches by Hon. Alexander Geismar, Miss Edith Reiffert and Mrs. Grace G. Wolterbeck, voter from Idaho.

19th Assembly District.

On February 3rd, Miss Klatschken addressed an audience of 300 at Liberty Hall. On the 20th she addressed an audience of nearly 2,000 at the Labor Lyceum.

23rd Assembly District.

The Democratic Club of the district opened its club house to the Woman Suffrage Party of the district on Thursday evening, February 13th, and asked to hear a speaker on votes for women. Mrs. P. Hackstaff spoke for the suffrage cause, presenting the arguments forcibly and presenting the case not only from the civic point of view but from the moral standpoint of a mother. Mrs. Hackstaff answered all questions ably and convincingly and some forty enrollments of real voters resulted from the meeting.

On Saturday evening an important business meeting was held at the home of the leader, Mrs. R. Waton, to determine when and where to hold a large mass meeting. The probable date of this meeting is March 30th and the place the Metropolitan Sanger Hall on Pitkin Avenue. Good speakers are promised and an enthusiastic meeting is expected.

QUEENS.

1st Assembly District.

The district reports the organization on January 24th of a club at the home of the leader, Mrs. J. Hoben, 169 12th Street, Long Island City. The officers elected are Mrs. McConnick, president; Mrs. Grosjean, vice-president; Mrs. Hoben, secretary, and Miss Marshall, treasurer. Miss Martha Klatschken was the speaker of the evening.

2nd Assembly District.

An interesting meeting was held on February 6th at Forest Hills called through the efforts of Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale. An audience of over one hundred, a creditable showing for a small village, gathered to hear an eloquent suffrage address by Mrs. Hale. The leader, Mrs. Marsden, is planning additional meetings as spring advances.

3rd Assembly District.

On January 27th the Companions of the Order of Lady Foresters for the first time permitted a suffrage talk before their association, and seventy women were both interested and edified.

On January 29th Miss Elisabeth Freeman spoke to fifty young men and women at the School of Typewriting and Stenography in the Ridgewood Times Building. On February 28th a mass meeting was held at Unity Hall, Myrtle Avenue and Fresh Pond Road, Glendale, the details of which will appear in the April **Voter.**

4th Assembly District.

The Queens Suffrage Club met on February 13th at the residence of the president, Mrs. A. J. Eno, and listened to an able address by Miss Alice Carpenter.

Coming events are a meeting on March 4th of the Richmond Hill Suffrage Club at the Republican clubhouse, Suffield Avenue, when Miss Anne Rhodes will be the speaker, and a meeting of the Hollis Club in the Parish Hall on March 6th, on which occasion Mrs. Belle de Rivera will speak.

RICHMOND.

1st Assembly District.

The 1st Assembly District is out for voters. The district wants 10,000 voters for 1915 and the work of enrollment is progressing well. For the first two weeks of the month of February 25,500 pieces of literature of propaganda and announcements have been put out to individuals, this exceeding any previous record for the same length of time. The rule of the district is at least two suffrage meetings a week, besides furnishing speakers to any outside organization which desires to hear about suffrage. Miss Whitmore, the leader, has plans maturing which will serve as a stirring example to other districts.

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DOROTHEA MOORE

In the *American Magazine.*

So very like the flower—the weed—
So very like the flower. Indeed
I'm wondering what God would say
If I should throw the weed away.

This hard defiant pallid girl—
Offensiveness in every curl
Of her rough hair. O my dull eyes,
Can you be reason hers are wise?

And when I bend beside the bed
Where my girl lies so sheltered,
How may I touch that tender face,
Forgetting these—who need such grace?

Publicity thus making clear that a large number of women have entered the hideous life against their own volition, it inevitably discloses the existence of a wide spread commerce organized for the profits of men. The man who owns the house, the one who procures the girls, the one styled her "protector"—the agent who supplies her clothing, all exploit her, each for his personal gain.

Jane Addams.

There is an old story entitled "Put yourself in his place." Women, in all discussion of the unfortunate girl, "Put yourself in her place!" Human nature is not so radically different that you should dare to suppose that what you shrink from she would not shrink from. Instead of believing all you hear about what she is and what she wants, and whether she is willing to leave the life, just have a little psychological insight or even a little plain human-common sense—Put yourself in her place."

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THE CALIFORNIA WOMAN VOTERS AND WHITE SLAVERY.

BY

MABEL C. DEERING.

SINCE the granting of suffrage to women in California the prosecutions of white slavers have increased more than one hundred per cent. and in almost every case convictions have been secured. Formerly the judges used to "sidestep" these cases because the white slaver was so intimately connected with the saloon and the saloon with politics: now the judges wish to have the cases assigned to them, especially just before election time, those who were coming up for reelection, pointing with pride to the records of convictions in their courts. All California men, particularly the men who were opposed to granting suffrage feel that white slavery is the slogan to which every woman responds.

When a white slaver was convicted in the old days he received the lightest penalty possible but now he receives the limit in sentence and the judge frequently voices his regret that he cannot give him a longer time. One of the most notorious white slavers who has operated openly in San Francisco for years, and everybody who knew anything about the question knew about it—was recently convicted and sent to the penitentiary for a term of years. A number of women voters, residents of the locality, were in the courtroom during the trial and followed up the proceedings with great care. He might have appealed his case but he waived appeal and commenced to serve his term at once as he said he knew he would not get a new trial and he might as well take his medicine. He was notorious and has been the means of wrecking the lives of Heaven knows how many hundreds of girls. He was an ex-prize fighter and the proprietor of a dive and he has always operated openly and in tranquility before.

Recently in one of the superior courts of San Francisco the jury refused to convict the accused slaver though the judge had strongly recommended it in his charge. The judge was furious and scored the jurors roundly but they insisted that the evidence was not sufficient and they were discharged after a terrific excoriating which attracted everybody's attention and yet such miscarriages of justice have been going on right along for years and nobody took notice at all.

There's a big difference between influence and power. The result is that where our morning papers formerly chronicled almost daily disappearances of girls from fourteen years old up these "disappearances" are now rare.

After Judge Herrington who is the Federal officer in San Francisco spoke before the Civic League (the women's organization founded by the College Equal Suffrage League) and before the California Club on the white slave traffic, these organizations representing several thousand women *voters* telegraphed to all the California congressmen and senators with the result that the appropriation for interstate work in this matter was largely increased and Judge Herrington in letters to these organizations gave them all the credit for the increased Congressional appropriation. If the voting women in the other suffrage states will do the same thing the appropriation can be still more greatly increased. California women have only had the suffrage for fourteen months and the millenium has not yet arrived but the hands of the women voters are by no means empty of sheaves as every fair-minded man in California admits, greatly to the annoyance of a few professional and official Anti suffragists who are sorry it is so.

THE HEART OF MAGDALENE.

BY

LOUIS F. POST.

(From *The Public,* Chicago, December 20th, 1912.)

A SMALL, severe, prim, puritanic-looking woman." So she is described. Not in reports from Jerusalem two thousand years ago, but in dispatches from New York last week. She has "shrewd eyes that are yet kindly, that fill up easily with sympathetic tears, and that are half hidden behind gold eyeglasses." Her blond hair, braided plainly, is beginning to turn gray at the temples; her chin is soft, cleft with a dimple, but her mouth is the grim, straight mouth of a fighter." And "she dresses quietly," this Magdalene of New York, and now "her only jewelry a wedding ring."

For the first time we have here a Magdalene who bares the heart of her sisterhood. Others have spoken for them, in charity or in contempt, to lift them up or to trample them farther down; but in her voice, ringing through the newspapers of a continent, that sisterhood of all the centuries speaks for itself.

Mary Magdalene is not her name. It is Mary Goode. She owns and manages a New York house of prostitution. Her testimony before an aldermanic committee in New York is described as shocking in its revelations "about the amount of money the police wring out of the fallen sisterhood for protection" in their poverty-driven pandering to the vices of men.

When asked for a newspaper interview, she sadly replied: "What more can I say than I said on the witness stand?" But she spoke again, whether to say more or not than on the witness stand, and well would it be if the spirit of what she said were echoed in every sermon at this blessed anniversary season.

Let Magdalene be heard:

"Every one is so hard on us; every one condemns us utterly. We are all outcasts, from whom good women draw away their skirts; yet we are not wholly bad. There's some little green spot still left in our hearts. I do not boast of what I have done, but I have saved many a girl. I have sent many a poor, pretty, little fool, anxious to see the world, back to her home. I never let a good girl come into my house. I have never led any girl into evil. Women—good women—think that women such as I, and resorts such as I keep, are their greatest enemies. They do not know the truth, and that is that *we* are not the home breakers. The girls that wreck families are the pretty flirts. This brings me to what I told the investigating committee, and that is that the social evil can never be regulated until we women of the underworld help you do it. We are the only ones

that can cure it. How would we do it? First, by having people recognize a situation that has always existed, and that always will exist, and deal with it honestly instead of hypocritically."

A situation that always will exist?

Yes, as long as the necessity for it is tolerated as man's necessity, while the crime of it is denounced as the woman's crime.

For every female prostitute in human society there must be many who are men; else this age-old profession could not persist.

Why, then, do we always condemn the woman? segregate the woman? quarantine the woman? sanitate the woman? police-regulate the woman?

Our Magdalene answers us.

It is because we are hypocrites.

She gives an instance, only one, and there are worse ones higher up and nearer to the altar, but here is hers: "I was raised by God-fearing parents, and last Sunday I went to church. I crept in like a thief, and I knelt by the door, so humble I scarce dared raise my eyes to the altar. As I knelt there, a big police official went by with his chest thrown out and marched himself to a front pew. I knew his pockets were lined with the money of women such as I am, and that when they refused to pay tribute he broke down doors and threw unfortunates out half-clad in the cold streets in winter, to be picked up by the traders in women."

Is not this woman's plea for her abhorred sisterhood a reasonable, as well as plaintive one? Isn't it true that the women of the underworld can help at least to cure the evil of which they themselves are victims more than any one else? If the social evil is to be dealt with honestly, it must be recognized as a *human* evil, and no longer as a *woman* evil. And if it be recognized as a human evil, those who are in it and of it, no less than those who are chiefly responsible for it (whether directly as customers, or indirectly as beneficiaries of the economic conditions most at fault for it), should be taken into counsel. Magdalene herself must be allowed to help, if her seven devils are to be cast out and kept out.

One of the first results of the enfranchisement of Washington women was the recall of Mayor Gill of Seattle, charged by good citizens with permitting and fostering a "wide-open town." Last spring he was again a candidate for the mayoralty, his campaign resolving itself into a fight between decency and the vice syndicate. The women voters took an active part in the agitation which resulted in his defeat. Of the successful reform mayor, *The Western Woman Voter* says:

"The administration of the city government of Seattle by Mayor Cotterill and the present City Council is proving to be the best the city has ever known. Not only are the problems of engineering and constructive civic enterprises, such as municipal lighting, municipal street railways, and municipal telephone and markets, receiving due and adequate consideration; not only are the constitutional rights of free speech and free assemblage and peaceful picketing maintained; but a real and effective fight has been waged on prostitution and white slavery resulting in cleaner moral conditions than ever before."

WHITE SLAVERY.

BY

REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN.

Synopsis of an address before The National Woman Suffrage Convention, Philadelphia, 1912.

For something like 4,000 years we men have been trying to solve this problem of white slavery, and for something like 4,000 years we have failed. How far have we got to-day? After all these centuries, we have got to the point where we have learned just one thing: we have learned that white slavery is a regular business, conducted by men for men. . . . What do we propose to do about it? The most that we propose to do is to regulate these girls, to lessen the evils of the business by trying to lessen its diseases through official regulation. But are we going to regulate the men that prey on the girls? Not much! We talk about the registration of prostitution, but it never occurs to us that it may be necessary to register the men that patronize the prostitutes. In other words, being men, we are, even in our attempts to cure white slavery, protecting nobody but men. We are protecting the demand and continuing the supply. That is why I think it necessary that a word be said concerning the women in the case.

By the very simplest and narrowest calculation, there are at least 600,000 White Slaves in the United States at the present moment. That means that there are half as many prostitutes in the United States as there are soldiers in the allied armies now at war with Turkey. It means that there must be at least 120,000 new girls supplied for our domestic trade next year: 120,000 will be needed between the first of next January and the 31st of next December. They will be needed and they will be supplied, and in only a few of our states will any of that 120,000 have a voice or a vote in the shaping of the conditions that permit their slavery to continue.

Perhaps you think that these things don't concern you. The chief of Bureau of Investigation of the Federal Department of Justice last summer declared that no woman of any station whatever was safe from this traffic. That means your wife, your daughter, your sister, your sweetheart. Yes, and it means you. The diseases bred by this traffic are among the most hideous and the most easily transmitted known to man. Eighty-odd per cent. of all the white slaves in this country are infected and transmit infection. Seventy-five per cent. of our American men between the ages of 18 and 28 are sufferers from these diseases; 75 per cent. You may say that you will ignore these things, but when the evil has entered your own house you will find that these things have not ignored you.

Now, I don't for a minute pretend that white slavery is going to be ended in a day by giving women the vote. But I am here to maintain that it will not be ended until, in every sense, women have been made the social and political equals of men. White slavery is an economic problem, but we shan't solve any broad human economic problems so long as we keep one-half of the human race in bondage.

All over Europe people have been saying to me: "If you give women the vote, the prostitute will be a voter." To that my answer has at least the merit of simplicity, I say: "If I had the vote to give, the first woman that I would give it to would be the prostitute, because no woman needs it more." They are already clamoring in England that this sort of democracy threatens human life. Democracy has never been a menace to human life; the withholding of democracy has always been a menace to human life and always will be. If you tell me that the victim of white slavery will vote, I say "Far better the slave than the slaver."

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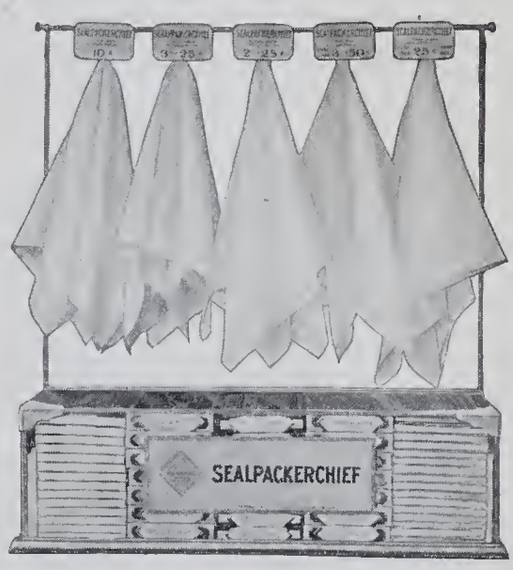

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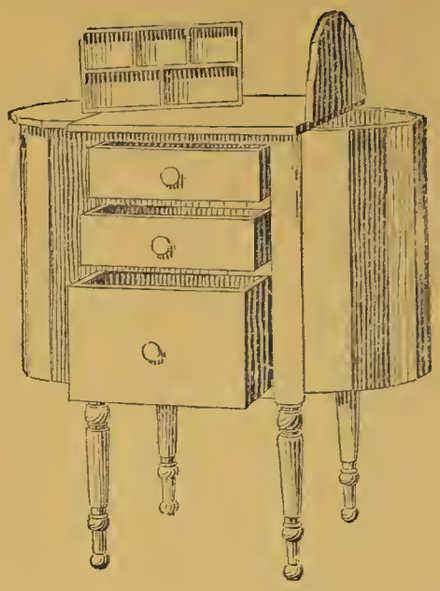

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